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THE
AMERICAN NEPOS:

A
COLLECTION OF THE LIVES

OF
THE MOST REMARKABLE AND THE MOST
EMINENT MEN,

WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO
THE DISCOVERY, THE SETTLEMENT, AND THE
INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA.

James Jones W. H. Smith

CALCULATED FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

"History is Philosophy teaching by Examples."



BALTIMORE:

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BALTIMORE, March 1805.

CONSIDERING that the lives of remarkable and illustrious Men, eminent for their enterprize, their talents, and their virtues, are fit examples for Youth, not only to increase their knowledge of the history of their own Country, but also to excite a commendable emulation of whatever is just and praise-worthy, We are of opinion, that the following Collection may be of use to the rising generation.

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SAMUEL KNOX, A.M.

SAMUEL BROWN.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST
BY JOHN BURNET
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
M.D.C.LXXII.

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P R E F A C E.

BIOGRAPHY is that species of history which records the lives and characters of remarkable persons. When truly given, it is the history of *Man as he is*, wherein we contemplate, for our instruction, the virtues, or the vices of those who are described : We trace the progress of good men with pleasure, and we behold the crimes of bad men with detestation. Biography is therefore not only the most entertaining, but is also the most instructing kind of History—No books are so proper to be put into the hands of young persons.

If Chronology and Geography be the eyes of History, Biography must be its grand feature, its vital principle. In ancient story, we read of the ambition of Alexander and Cæsar—in modern annals, we are shocked with the crimes of Cromwell and Robespierre. Fortunately, the history of America has had no occasion to record the hateful deeds of usurpers and tyrants—as yet, her remarkable men are of the first order ; they are objects of admiration, and worthy of imitation.

It is true, that the personages described in the following pages are not all natives of this country, but their lives are so connected with its discovery, its improvement, and its advances to maturity as a nation, that they could not be omitted in a book which professes to give, for the instruction of the youth of *America*, a biographical history of its most eminent characters. The collection begins with the celebrated *Columbus*, and concludes with the illustrious *Washington*—

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With

With *Franklin* and *Washington*, the people of these States need not be afraid to hold up their heads with the proudest kingdoms of Europe, and dispute with them the palm of Philosophy and genuine Patriotism.

To the rising generation, it is expected, that this volume may be of much use. Whilst it lays before them the principal outlines of the history of their country, it presents for their example the actions of some of their most celebrated citizens—of those who first explored and settled these desert shores; who, by their intrepidity and talents, have accelerated the progress of civilization and government; and of those who fought for the liberties, and, at length, atchieved the independence of America.

In point of order, every citizen of America ought, first, to be well acquainted with the history of his own country—the interesting, and instructing annals of England must necessarily succeed—then may follow those of Greece and Rome. From these volumes may be obtained all that is useful in History; and, let it be observed, that, from an impartial study of History, may be learned almost every useful lesson.

From *this* Collection, may the young reader, whilst he acquires the first rudiments of historical knowledge, learn to shun evil, and to do good—may it teach him to practice Virtue, and to venerate Religion.

* * It was by chance that the Editor gave the present title to this Collection—He had hesitated betwixt *Nepos* and *Plutarch*, when happening to hold in his hand a *British Nepos*, he thought it a good precedent—In point of time, C. Nepos stands foremost; he was an Italian; he lived in the Imperatorship of Julius Cæsar, and wrote the lives of certain eminent Greeks and Romans—Plutarch was of Grecian birth; he flourished in the reign of Trajan, and rendered himself famous by his biographical history of celebrated men—Both are useful books for either old or young—BALTIMORE, March 1805.

OBSERVATIONS ON READING.

THE art of reading with propriety, is a most pleasing and useful attainment, productive both of profit and improvement* — to some classes of society, it is an important, an indispensable qualification, particularly professional men, those who wish to attain eminence in the Senate, in the Pulpit, or at the Bar. It is essential to a complete reader, that he minutely perceive the ideas, and enter into the feelings of the Author whose sentiments he professes to repeat; for how is it possible to represent clearly to others, what we have but faint or inaccurate conceptions of ourselves? — If there were no other benefits resulting from the art of reading well, than the necessity it lays us under, of precisely ascertaining the meaning of what we read, and the habit thence acquired of doing this with facility, both when reading silently and aloud, they would constitute a sufficient compensation for all the labour we can bestow upon the subject. But the pleasure derived to ourselves and others, from a clear communication of ideas and feelings, and the strong and durable impressions made thereby on the minds of the reader and the audience, are considerations which give additional importance to the study of this very useful art.

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* NOTE — That these Observations will apply equally to *Speaking* as well as *Reading*.

A just delivery consists in a *distinct articulation* of words, pronounced with *proper tones*, suitably varied to the sense and the emotions of the mind ; with due attention to *accent*, and to *emphasis* in its several gradations ; and to *rests*, or pauses of the voice, in proper places and well measured degrees of time ; the whole accompanied with expressive looks and significant gestures. — A few rules are here laid down for the instruction of the learner.

ARTICULATION.—The first attention of every person who reads to others, must be, to make himself heard by all those to whom he reads ; he must endeavour to fill with his voice the space occupied by the company. This power of voice is the gift of Nature, but it may receive much assistance from Art. Accordingly, much depends on the proper pitch and management of the voice. Every person has three pitches in his voice ; the *high*, the *middle*, and the *low*. — The high, is that which he uses in calling aloud to some person at a distance ; the low, when he approaches to a whisper ; the middle, is that which he employs in common conversation, and which he should generally use in reading to others ; for it is a great mistake, to imagine that one must take the highest pitch of his voice in order to be heard in a large company— This is confounding two things which are different, loudness of sound with the proper key or note on which we ought to speak. By setting out on the highest key or pitch, we are likely to become harsh and discordant ; we shall fatigue ourselves, read with pain, and disgust our hearers. Let us therefore give the voice its full strength and swell of sound, but take care to pitch it on the proper speaking key. It should be

be our constant rule; never to utter a greater quantity of voice than we can afford without pain to ourselves, and without any extraordinary effort. As long as we keep within these bounds, the other organs of speech will be at liberty to discharge their several offices with ease, and we shall always have our voice under command; but whenever we transgress these bounds; we give up the reins, and have no longer any management of it.

By the habit of reading, when young, in a loud and vehement manner, the voice becomes fixed in a strained, unnatural key, and is rendered incapable of that variety which constitutes the true harmony of utterance, and affords ease to the reader, and pleasure to the audience. This unnatural pitch of the voice, and disagreeable monotony, are most observable in those who were taught to read by persons that considered loud expression as the chief requisite; who have themselves been badly educated; and have a bad ear; for good reading is like good music, both have their proper notes and cadences.†

DISTINCTNESS.— In the next place, to being well heard and clearly understood, distinctness of articulation contributes more than mere loudness of sound. The quantity of sound necessary to fill a large space, is smaller than is commonly imagined. With distinct articulation, a person, even with a weak voice, will make it reach further than the strongest voice

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† This particularly applies to public Speakers, or Orators. — It is surprizing how deficient some of our best (reputedly so) Speakers are in these points; they are guilty of faults that would induce an audience to hiss an Actor off the stage! — Hence it is said, in both France and England, that a judicious Actor is the best copy for him who wishes to be an accomplished Orator, “saying the word to the action, &c.”

can reach without it. To this requisite, therefore, every reader ought to pay particular attention. He must give every sound which he utters its due proportion, and make every syllable, and even every letter in the word which he pronounces, be distinctly heard.

An accurate knowledge of the simple, elementary sounds of the language, and a facility in expressing them, are so necessary to distinctness of expression, that if the learner's attainments are, in this respect, imperfect, it will be incumbent on his teacher to carry him back to these primary articulations.

DUE DEGREE OF SLOWNESS.—In order to express ourselves distinctly, we must, in general, read slowly. Precipitancy in reading, or speaking, confounds all articulation, and all meaning; but it is scarcely necessary to observe, that there may be an extreme on the other side. It is obvious, that a drawling, lifeless manner of reading must render the performance insipid and fatiguing. But the extreme of reading too fast is much more common, and requires the more to be guarded against, because, when it has grown up into a habit, few errors are more difficult to be corrected. To pronounce with a proper degree of slowness, and with full and clear articulation, is necessary to be studied by all who wish to become either good readers or good speakers. It is a great assistance to the voice, by the pauses and rests which it more easily makes, and it enables the reader, or speaker, to swell and mark his sounds with more correctness and harmony.

PROPRIETY OF PRONUNCIATION. — After the fundamental attentions to the management of the voice, to distinct articulation, and to a proper degree of slowness of speech, what the young.

Young reader must next study, is propriety of pronunciation, viz. giving to every word that sound which the best usage of the language requires, in opposition to *vulgar* and *provincial* pronunciation. † Instructions concerning this article may be better given by a living teacher of correct taste—but there is one observation, which it is proper here to make. In the English language, every word which consists of more syllables than one, has one accented syllable; the accent rests sometimes on the vowel, sometimes on the consonant; the genius of the language requires the voice to mark that syllable by a stronger emphasis, and to pass more slightly over the rest. Now, after we have learned the proper seats of these accents, it is an important rule, to give every word just the same accent in reading as in common discourse. Many persons err in this respect; when they read to others, they pronounce the syllables in a different manner from what they do at other times; they dwell upon them, and protract them; they multiply accents on the same word, from a mistaken notion, that it gives importance to the subject, and adds to the energy of their delivery. Whereas this is one of the greatest faults that can be committed in pronunciation; it makes what is called a pompous or mouthing manner, and gives an artificial, affected air to reading, which detracts greatly from its agreeableness and just impression.

PAUSES.—Pauses, or rests in reading or speaking, are a cessation of the voice during a perception—

† Mr. Sheridan published a Dictionary, pointing out, by simple marks, the method of pronunciation. A number of imitators followed on nearly the same plan, but none of them have arrived at such scientific correctness as Mr. Walker—To his Dictionary the reader would do well to apply for the best method of pronouncing the *English* language.

ceptible, and, in many cases, a measurable space of time. Pauses are equally necessary to the speaker and to the hearer—To the speaker, that he may take breath, without which he cannot proceed far in delivery; and that he may, by these temporary rests, relieve the organs of speech, which otherwise would be soon tired by continued action—to the hearer, that the ear may be relieved from the fatigue which it would otherwise endure from a continuity of sound; and that the understanding may have sufficient time to mark the distinction of sense; and the construction of sentences.

There are two kinds of pauses — First, emphatical pauses; and, those that mark the distinctions of sense. An emphatical pause is generally made *after* something has been said of peculiar moment, and on which we desire to fix the hearer's attention—sometimes, *before* a thing is said, we usher it in with a pause of this nature. Such pauses have the same effect as a strong emphasis, and are subject to the same rules, especially to the caution of not repeating them too frequently; for as they excite uncommon attention, and of course raise expectation, if the importance of the matter be not fully answerable to such expectation, they occasion disappointment and disgust.

But the most frequent and the principal use of pauses is, to mark the divisions of the sense; and, at the same time, to allow the reader to draw his breath; and the proper and delicate adjustment of such pauses, is one of the nicest articles of delivery. In all reading, the management of the breath requires a deal of care, so as not to oblige us to divide words from one another, which have so intimate a connexion, that they

they ought to be pronounced with the same breath, and without the least separation. Many a sentence is miserably mangled, and the force of the emphasis totally lost, by pauses in the wrong place. To avoid this, every one, while he is reading, should be very careful to provide a full supply of breath for what he has to utter.—By this management, one may always have a sufficient stock of breath for carrying on the longest sentence without improper interruption.

But it is a mistake to imagine, that the breath must be drawn only at the end of a point, or stop. Pauses in reading must generally be formed upon the manner in which we utter ourselves in an ordinary, sensible conversation, and not upon a stiff, artificial manner; besides the regular points, there are other delicate pauses which ought to be observed in reading. A mechanical attention to the points used in printing, has perhaps been one cause of monotony, by leading the reader to a similar tone at every stop, and a uniform cadence at every period—On this head, the following direction may be of use: “Tho’ in reading great attention should be paid to the stops, yet a greater should be given to the sense, and their correspondent times occasionally lengthened beyond what is usual in common speech.”


EMPHASIS.—By emphasis is meant a stronger and fuller sound of voice, by which we distinguish some word or words, and to show how they affect the rest of the sentence. Sometimes the emphatic words must be distinguished by a particular tone of voice, as well as by a particular stress. *On the right management of Emphasis, depends the life of Pronunciation.* If no emphasis be placed on any words, not only is discourse

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Christopher Columbus	I
Amerigo Vespucci	24
John and Sebastian Cabot	26
James Cartier	31
Ferdinando de Soto	43
Walter Raleigh	47
John Smith	56
John Robinson	88
George Calvert	96
William Penn	103
Benjamin Franklin	131
General Lee	227
General Putnam	250
David Rittenhouse	290
General Washington	306



T H E

AMERICAN NEPOS.

C O L U M B U S.

ABOUT the middle of the 15th century, when the Portuguese under the conduct of Prince Henry, and afterward of King John II. were pushing their discoveries along the western shore of Africa, to find a passage by the south to India; a genius arose, whose memory has been preserved with veneration in the pages of history, as the instrument of enlarging the region of Science and Commerce, beyond any of his predecessors. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of the Republic of Genoa, was born in the year 1447, and at the age of 14, entered on a seafaring life, as the proper sphere, in which his vigorous mind was destined to perform exploits which should astonish mankind. He was educated in the sciences of Geometry and Astronomy, which form the basis of Navigation; and he was well versed in Cosmography, History and Philosophy. His active and enterprising genius, though it enabled him to comprehend the old systems, yet would not suffer him to rest in their decisions, however sanctified by time or by venerable names; but determined to examine them by actual experiment, he first visited the seas within the polar circle, and afterward those parts of Africa, which the Portuguese had discovered, as far as the coast of Guinea; and by the time that he had attained the age of 37, he had from his own experience received the fullest conviction, that the opinion of the ancients respecting the torrid and frigid zones was void of any just foundation.

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When an old system is found erroneous in one point, it is natural to suspect it of farther imperfections; and when one difficulty is overcome, others appear less formidable. Such was the case with Columbus; and his views were accelerated by an incident, which threatened to put an end to his life. During one of his voyages, the ship in which he sailed took fire, in an engagement with a Venetian galley, and the crew were obliged to leap into the sea to avoid perishing in the flames. In this extremity, Columbus, by the help of a floating oar, swam upwards of two leagues to the coast of Portugal near Lisbon, and met with a welcome reception from many of his countrymen who were settled there.

At Lisbon, he married the daughter of Perestrello, an old seaman who had been concerned in the discovery of Porto Santo and Madeira; from whose journals and charts he received the highest entertainment. Pursuing his inquiries in Geography, and observing what slow progress the Portuguese made in their attempts to find a way round Africa to India, "he began to reflect, that as the Portuguese travelled so far southward, it were no less proper to sail westward," and that it was reasonable to expect to find the desired land in that direction.

The causes which led him to entertain this idea, are distinguished by his son, the writer of his life, into these three, "natural reason, the authority of writers, and the testimony of sailors."

By the help of "reason," he argued in this manner: That the earth and sea composed one globe or sphere. This was known by observing the shadow of the earth in lunar eclipses. Hence he concluded that it might be travelled over from east to west, or from west to east. It had been explored to the east by some European travellers as far as Cipango, or Japan; and as far westward as the Azores or Western Islands. The remaining space, though now known to be more than half, he supposed to be but one third part of the circumference of the globe. If this space were an
open

open sea, he imagined it might be easily sailed over; and if there were any land extending eastwardly beyond the known limits of Asia, he supposed that it must be nearer to Spain by the west, than by the east. For, it was then a received opinion that the continent and islands of India extended over one third part of the circumference of the globe; that another third part was comprehended between India and the western shore of Spain; therefore it was concluded, that the eastern part of India must be as near to Spain as the western part. This opinion though now known to be erroneous, yet being then admitted as true, made it appear to Columbus very easy and practicable to discover India in the west. He hoped also that between Spain and India in that direction, there might be found some islands; by the help of which, as resting places in his voyage, he might the better pursue his main design. The probability of the existence of land in that ocean, he argued, partly from the opinion of philosophers, that there were more land than sea on the surface of the globe; and partly from the necessity of a counterpoise in the west, for the immense quantity of land which was known to be in the east.

Another source, from which he drew his conclusion was, "the authority of learned men," who had affirmed the possibility of sailing from the western coast of Spain, to the eastern bounds of India. Some of the ancient Geographers had admitted this for truth, and one of them had affirmed that forty days were sufficient to perform this navigation. These authorities fell in with the theory which Columbus had formed; and having, as early as 1474, communicated his ideas in writing, to Paul a learned physician of Florence, he received from him letters of that date, confirming his opinion and encouraging his design; accompanied with a chart, in which Paul had laid down the city of Quisay (supposed to be the capital of China) but little more than 2000 leagues westward from Lisbon, which in fact is but half the distance. Thus, by arguing from

from true principles, and by indulging conjectures partly well founded and partly erroneous, Columbus was led to the execution of a plan, bold in its conception, but, to his view, easily practicable; for great minds overlook intermediate obstacles, which men of smaller views magnify into insuperable difficulties.

The third ground on which he formed his idea was "the testimony of mariners;" a class of men who at that time, and in that imperfect state of science, were too prone to mix fable with fact, and were often misled by appearances, which they could not solve. In the sea between Madeira and the Western Islands, pieces of carved wood and large joints of cane had been discovered, which were supposed to be brought by westerly winds. Branches of pine trees, a covered canoe, and two human bodies of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans had been found on the shores of these islands. Some navigators had affirmed, that they had seen islands not more than 100 leagues westward from the Azores. There was a tradition, that when Spain was conquered by the Moors in the 8th century, seven Bishops, who were exiled from their country, had built seven cities and churches, on an island called Antilla, which was supposed to be not more than 200 leagues west of the Canaries; and it was said that a Portuguese ship had once discovered this island, but could never find it again. These stories, partly true and partly fabulous, had their effect on the mind of Columbus. He believed that islands were to be found, westward of the Azores and Canaries; though according to his theory, they were at a greater distance than any of his contemporaries had imagined. His candour led him to adopt an opinion from Pliny respecting floating islands, by the help of which he accounted for the appearances related to him, by his marine brethren. It is not improbable that the large islands of floating ice, driven from the Polar Seas to the southward; or the Fog Banks, which form many singular appearances resembling land and trees, might have been the true foundation of this opinion and of these reports.

It is not pretended that Columbus was the only person of his age who had acquired these ideas of the form, dimensions and balancing of the globe; but he was one of the few who had begun to think for themselves, and he had a genius of that kind, which makes use of speculation and reasoning only as excitements to action. He was not a closet projector, but an enterprising adventurer; and having established his theory on principles, he was determined to exert himself to the utmost, to demonstrate its truth by experiment. But deeming the enterprise too great to be undertaken by any but a sovereign state, he first applied (as it is said) to the Republic of Genoa, by whom his project was treated as visionary. He then proposed his plan to John II. King of Portugal, who, though a Prince of good understanding and of an enterprising disposition, yet was so deeply engaged in prosecuting discoveries on the African coast, with a view to find a way to India round that continent, and had been at so vast an expence without any considerable success, that he had no inclination to accept the terms which Columbus proposed. Influenced however by the advice of Calzadilla a favourite courtier, he privately gave orders to a ship bound to the islands of Cape de Verd, to attempt a discovery in the west; but through ignorance and want of enterprise, the navigators, after wandering for some time on the ocean, and making no discovery, reached their destined port, and turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Disgusted with this base artifice, he quitted Portugal, and went to Ferdinand, King of Spain, having previously sent his brother to England to solicit the patronage of Henry VII. But being taken by pirates, and detained several years in captivity, Bartholomew had it not in his power to reveal his project to Henry, till Christopher Columbus had succeeded in Spain. Before this could be accomplished he had various obstacles to surmount; and it was not till after seven years of painful solicitation that he obtained his request.

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The objections made to the proposal of Columbus, by the most learned men in Spain, to whom the consideration of it was referred, will give us some idea of the state of geographical science at that time. One objection was, How should *he* know more than all the wise men and skilful sailors who had existed since the creation? Another was the authority of Seneca, who had doubted whether it were possible to navigate the ocean at any great distance from the shore; but admitting that it were navigable, they imagined, that three years would be required to perform the voyage which Columbus proposed. A third was, that if a ship should sail westward on a round globe, she would necessarily go down, on the opposite side, and then it would be impossible to return, because it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ship could do with the strongest wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Augustine, in which he had expressed his doubt of the existence of antipodes and the possibility of going from one hemisphere to the other. As the writings of this Holy Father had received the sanction of the Church, to contradict him was deemed heresy!

For such reasons, and by such reasoners, the proposal of Columbus was at first rejected; but by the influence of John Perez a Spanish Priest, and Lewis Santangel an officer of the King's household, Queen Isabella was persuaded to listen to his solicitation, and after he had been twice repulsed, to recal him to Court; when she offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expence of the equipment, amounting to no more than 2500 crowns; which sum was advanced by Santangel, and the Queen's jewels were saved. Thus, to the generous decision of a female mind we owe the discovery of America.

The conditions stipulated between Ferdinand and Isabella on the one part, and Columbus on the other part, were these: That he, his heirs and successors, should hold the office of Admiral in all those Islands and Continents which he should discover; that he
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should be Viceroy and Governor of the same, with power of nominating three associates, of whom their Majesties should appoint one. That he should have one tenth part of the neat proceeds of all the gold and silver, precious stones, spice and other merchandise which should be found ; that he, or a deputy of his own appointing, should decide all controversies respecting the trade ; that he should be at one eighth part of the expence of equipping the first fleet, and should receive one eighth part of the profits.

The necessary preparations being made, and a year's provision laid in, on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from Palos, a port of Spain, on the Mediterranean, with three vessels, one of which was called a carrack, and the other two caravals ;* having on board the whole ninety men. Having passed thro' the straits of Gibraltar, he arrived at the Canaries, on the 12th of the same month ; where he was detained in refitting one of the caravals, and taking in wood and water, till the 6th of September, when he sailed westward on his voyage of discovery.

This voyage, which now is considered as an easy and pleasant run, between the latitudes of 20 and 30 degrees, with a trade wind, was then the boldest attempt which had ever been made, and filled the minds of the best seamen with apprehension. They were going directly from home, and from all hope of relief, if any accident should befall them. No friendly port nor human being was known to be in that direction. Every bird which flew in the air, every fish which appeared in the sea, and every weed which floated on its surface, was regarded with the most minute attention, as if the fate of the voyage depended on it. A phenomenon which had never before been observed struck them with terror. The magnetic needle appeared to vary from the pole : They began to apprehend that their compass would prove an unfaithful guide ; and the trade wind, which wafted them along with its friendly wings, they feared would obstruct their return.

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* A carrack had two decks, a caravel only one.

To be twenty days at sea, without sight of land, was what the boldest mariner had never before attempted. At the expiration of that time the impatient sailors began to talk of throwing their commander into the ocean, and returning home. Their murmurs reached his ears; but his active mind was never at a loss for expedients, even in the greatest extremity. By soothing, flattery, and artifice, by inventing reasons for every uncommon appearance, by promising rewards to the obedient, and a gratuity to him who should first discover land, in addition to what the King had ordered; and by deceiving them in the ship's reckoning, he kept them on their course for 16 days longer. In the night of the 11th of October, he himself saw a light, which seemed to be on shore, and in the morning of the 12th, they had the joyful sight of land, which proved to be the island of Guanahana, one of the cluster called Bahamas, in the 25th degree of north latitude.

Thus in the space of 36 days, and in the 45th year of his age, Columbus completed a voyage which he had spent 20 years in projecting and executing; a voyage which opened to the Europeans a new world; which gave a new turn to their thoughts, to their spirit of enterprise and of commerce; which enlarged the empire of Spain, and stamped with immortality the name of COLUMBUS.

After spending several months in sailing from one island to another in that vast archipelago, which, from the mistakes of the age received the name of the *West-Indies*, Columbus returned to Spain with the two smaller vessels, (the larger having been wrecked on the island of Hispaniola) leaving behind him a colony of 39 men, furnished with a year's provision, and lodged in a fort which had been built of the timber saved from the wreck. During his passage he met with a violent tempest which threatened him with destruction. In this extremity, he gave an admirable proof of his calmness and foresight. He wrote on a parchment an account of his discoveries, wrapped it

in a piece of oiled cloth, and inclosed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight cask and threw into the sea.* Another parchment secured in the same manner, he placed on the stern, that if the ship should sink, the cask might float, and possibly one or the other might be driven on shore, or taken up by some future navigator. But this precaution proved fruitless. He arrived safe in Spain, in March, 1493, and was received with the honours due to his merit.

The account which Columbus gave of his new discoveries, the specimens of gold and other valuable productions, and the sight of the natives which he carried from the West-Indies to Spain, were so pleasing that the Court determined on another expedition. But first it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Pope, who readily granted it; and by an imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of 100 leagues westward of the Azores, he divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, all the new countries already discovered or to be discovered; giving the western part to the former, and the eastern to the latter!—No provision however was made, in case that they should meet, and their claims should interfere on the opposite side of the globe. The bull, containing this famous (but imperfect) line of demarkation, was signed by Alexander VI. on the second day of May 1493; and on the 28th of the same month, the King and Queen of Spain, by a written instrument, explained and confirmed the privileges and powers which they had before granted to Columbus, making the office of Viceroy and Governor of the Indies hereditary in his family. On the 25th of September following, he sailed from Cadiz, with a fleet of 17 ships, great and small, well furnished with all necessaries for the voyage; and having on board 1500 people, with horses, cattle, and implements to establish plantations.

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* An improvement has lately been made upon this idea—It is simply to inclose a piece of writing in a sealed bottle, which will convey information of the fortunate or unfortunate vessel hundreds of leagues, according to the winds or tides.

On Sunday the 3d of November, he discovered an island to which, in honour of the day, he gave the name of Dominica. Afterward he discovered in succession other islands, which he called Marigalante, Gaudaloupe, Montserrat, Redonda, Antigua, St. Martin's, St. Ursula, and St. John. On the 12th November he came to Navidad, on the north side of Hispaniola, where he had built his fort, and left his colony; but he had the mortification to find, that the people were all dead, and that the fort had been destroyed.

The account given by the natives, of the loss of the colony, was, that they fell into discord among themselves, on the usual subjects of controversy, women and gold; that having provoked a chief, whose name was Canaubo, he came against them with a superior force, and destroyed them; that some of the natives in attempting to defend them, had been killed and others were then ill of their wounds; which on inspection, appeared to have been made with Indian weapons.

Columbus prudently forbore to make any critical inquiry into the matter; but hasted to establish another colony, in a more eligible situation, to the eastward; which he called Isabella, after his royal patroness. He had many difficulties to contend with, besides those which unavoidably attend undertakings of such novelty and magnitude. Nature indeed was bountiful: the soil and climate produced vegetation, with a rapidity to which the Spaniards had not been accustomed.— From wheat sown at the end of January, full ears were gathered at the end of March. The stones of fruit, the slips of vine, and the joints of sugar cane sprouted in seven days, and many other seeds in half the time. This was an encouraging prospect; but the slow operations of agriculture did not meet the views of sanguine adventurers. The numerous followers of Columbus, some of whom were of the best families in Spain, had conceived hopes of suddenly enriching themselves, by the precious metals of those
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new regions ; and were not disposed, to listen to his recommendations of patience and industry, in cultivating the earth. The natives were displeased with the licentiousness of their new neighbours, who endeavoured to keep them in awe by a display of force. The explosion of fire arms, and the sight of men mounted on horses, were at first objects of terror ; but use had rendered them less formidable. Columbus, overburdened with care and fatigue, fell sick, and at his recovery found a mutiny among his men ; which, by a due mixture of resolution and lenity, he had the address to quell. He then endeavoured to establish discipline among his own people, and to employ the natives in cutting roads through the woods. Whilst he was present, and able to attend business, things went on so prosperously, that he thought he might safely proceed on his discoveries.

In his former voyage he had visited Cuba, but was uncertain whether it were an island or a part of some continent. He therefore passed over to its eastern extremity ; and coasted its southern side, till he found himself entangled among a vast number of small islands, which for their beauty and fertility he called the Garden of the Queen ; but the dangerous rocks and shoals, which surrounded them, obliged him to stretch farther to the southward ; by which means he discovered Jamaica, where he found refreshments for his men, who were almost dead with famine. The great distress of this voyage, threw him into a lethargic disorder, from which he had just recovered, when he returned to his colony, and found it all in confusion from the same causes which had proved destructive to the first.

In his absence the licentiousness of the Spaniards had provoked several of the chiefs ; four of whom had united to destroy them, and had actually commenced hostilities, in which 20 Spaniards were killed. Columbus collected his people, put them into the best order, and, by a judicious combination of force and stratagem, gained a decisive victory, to which the horses and dogs did not a little contribute.

At his return to Hispaniola, he had the pleasure of meeting his brother Bartholemew, whom he had not seen for several years, and whom he supposed to have been dead. Bartholemew was a man of equal knowledge, patience, bravery, and prudence with himself. His patience had endured a severe trial in their long separation. He had many obstacles to surmount, before he could get to England and obtain access to the King. He was at Paris when he heard of the success of his brother's first enterprise; who had gone on the second, before Bartholemew could get to Spain. On his arrival there, and being introduced to the Court, he was appointed to the command of three ships, which were destined to convey supplies to the colony; and he arrived whilst Christopher was absent on his voyage to Cuba and Jamaica. Columbus appointed his brother to command at Isabella, whilst he went into the interior part of the island, to perfect his conquest, and reduce the natives to subjection and tribute.

The Indians were so unused to collect gold dust, in such quantities as their conquerers demanded it, that they offered to plant the immense plains of Hispaniola, and pay an equivalent in corn. Columbus was struck with the magnanimity of the proposal; and in consequence, moderated the tribute. But this did not satisfy the avarice of his fellow adventurers, who found means to complain of him to the King's ministers, for his negligence in acquiring the only commodity, which they thought deserved the name of riches. The Indians then desisted from planting their usual quantity of corn, and attempted to subsist chiefly on animal food. This experiment proved injurious to themselves as well as to their conquerers; and it was computed, that within four years, from the first discovery of the island, one third part of its inhabitants perished.

The complaints against Columbus so wrought on the jealous mind of King Ferdinand, that John Aguado, who was sent, in 1495, to the colony, had orders to act as a spy on his conduct. This man behaved
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with so little discretion, as to seek matter of accusation and give out threats against the Admiral. At the same time, the ships which he commanded, being destroyed by a hurricance, he had no means left to return; till Columbus, knowing that he had enemies at home and nothing to support him but his own merit, resolved to go to Spain, with two caravals; himself in one, and Aguado in the other. Having appointed proper persons to command the several forts, his brother Bartholomew to superintend the whole, and his brother James to be next in authority; he set sail on the 10th of March 1496, and after a perilous and tedious voyage, in the tropical latitudes, arrived at Cadiz on the 11th of June.

His presence at Court, with the gold and other valuable articles which he carried home, removed in some measure, the prejudices which had been excited against him. But his enemies tho' silent, were not idle; and in a Court, where phlegm and languor proved a clog to the spirit of enterprise, they found it not difficult to obstruct his views; which, notwithstanding all discouragements, were still pointed to the discovery of a way to India by the west.

He now demanded eight ships, to carry supplies to his colony, and six to go on discovery. These demands were complied with, and he began his third voyage on the 30th of May 1498. He kept a course so far to the southward, that not only his men, but his provisions and water suffered greatly from excessive heat. The first land he made after leaving the Isles of Cape de Verd, was a large island which he named Trinidad, from its appearance in the form of three mountains. He then passed through a narrow strait and whirlpool into the gulf of Paria; where, observing the tide to be rapid, and the water brackish, he conjectured, that the land, on the western and southern sides of the gulf, was part of a continent; and that the fresh water proceeded from some great rivers.

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The people on the coast of Paria were whiter than those of the islands. They had about their necks plates of gold and strings of pearl; which they readily exchanged for pieces of tin and brass, and little bells; and when they were questioned whence they obtained the gold and pearls, they pointed to the west.

The Admiral's provision not allowing him to stay long in this place, he passed again through that dangerous strait, to which he gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth; having satisfied himself, that the land on his left was a continent, he steered to the N. W. discovering Margaritta and several other islands in his course; and on the 30th of August, arrived at the harbour of St. Domingo in Hispaniola; to which place his brother had removed the colony in his absence, in consequence of a plan preconcerted between them.

Wearied with incessant care and watching, in this dangerous voyage, he hoped now to enjoy repose, instead of which he found his colony much reduced by deaths; many of the survivors sick, with a disease, the peculiar consequence of their debauchery; and a large number of them in actual rebellion. They had formed themselves into a body; they had gained over many of the Indians, under pretence of protecting them; and they had retired to a distant part of the island, which proved a resort for the seditious and discontented. Their commander was Francis Roldan, who had been Chief Justice of the colony; and their number was so considerable, that Columbus could not command a force sufficient to subdue them. He therefore entered into a negociation, by offering a pardon to those who would submit, and liberty of returning to Spain to those who desired it. These offers however impolitic, proved successful. Roldan himself accepted them, and persuaded others to do the same; then, being restored to his office, he tried and condemned the refractory, some of whom were put to death.

An account of this mutiny was sent home to Spain by Columbus and another by Roldan. Each had their
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advocates at Court, and the cause was heard by the King and Queen. Roldan and his men were accused of adultery, perjury, robbery, murder, and disturbing the peace of the whole island; whilst Columbus was charged with cruelty to individuals, aiming at independance, and engrossing the tribute. It was insinuated, that not being a native Of Spain, he had no proper respect for the noble families who had become adventurers, and that the debts due to them could not be recovered. It was suggested, that if some remedy were not speedily applied, there was danger that he would revolt, and join with some other Prince; and that to compass this design, he had concealed the real wealth of the colony, and prevented the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith.

These insinuations prevailed on the jealousy of Ferdinand, and even staggered the constancy of Isabella. They resolved to appoint a judge, who should examine facts on the spot, and if he should find the Admiral guilty, to supersede him. For this purpose they sent Francis Bovadilla, a man of noble rank, but whose poverty alone recommended him to the office. Furnished with these powers, he arrived at St. Domingo, when Columbus was absent; took lodgings in his house; invited accusers to appear against him; seized on his effects, and finally sent him and both his brothers to Spain in three different ships, and all loaded with irons!

The master of the ship in which the Admiral sailed had so much respect for him, that when he had got to sea, he offered to take off his fetters; but Columbus nobly declared, that he would permit that honour to be done him, by none but his sovereign. In this humiliating confinement, he was delivered to Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, who had been the chief instigator of all these rigorous proceedings, and to whom had been committed the affairs of the Indies.

Not content with robbing Columbus of his liberty, this prejudiced ecclesiastic would have deprived him of his well earned reputation of having first discovered

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ed the new continent. With the accusations which Columbus had sent home against Roldan, he had transmitted an account of the discovery of the coast of Paria, which he justly supposed to be part of a continent. Ojeda, an active officer, who had sailed with Columbus in his second voyage, was at court when these dispatches arrived, and saw the draught of the discovery, with the specimens of gold and pearls, which the Admiral had sent home. Being a favourite of Fonseca, he easily obtained leave to pursue the discovery. Some merchants of Seville were prevailed upon to equip four ships; with which, in 1499, Ojeda followed the track of Columbus, and made land on the coast of Paria. *Amerigo Vespucci*, a Florentine merchant, well skilled in geography and navigation, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage; and by publishing the first book and chart, describing the new world, obtained the honour of having it called AMERICA. This however did not happen till after the death of Columbus. Several other adventurers followed the same track, and all supposed that the continent which they had seen, was part of India.

As soon as it was known, that Columbus was arrived at Cadiz, (Nov. 5, 1500) in the disgraceful situation abovementioned, the King and Queen ashamed of the orders which they had given, commanded him to be released, and invited him to Court, where they apologized for the misbehaviour of their new Governor, and not only promised to recal him, but to restore to the Admiral all his effects. Columbus could not forget the ignominy. He preserved the fetters, hung them up in his apartment, and ordered them to be buried in his grave.

Instead of reinstating him in his government according to the original contract, the King and Queen sent Ovando, to supersede Bovadilla; and only indulged Columbus in pursuing his darling project, the discovery of India by the west, which he still hoped to accomplish. He sailed again from Cadiz, on the 4th of May, 1502; with four vessels, carrying 140

men and boys; of which number were his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, the writer of his life.

In his passage to the Carribee islands, he found his largest vessel of 70 tons, unfit for the service; and therefore went to St Domingo, in hope of exchanging it for a better, and to seek shelter from a storm which he saw approaching. To his infinite surprise and mortification, Ovando would not admit him into the port. A fleet of thirty ships was then ready to sail for Spain, on board of which, Roldan and Bovadilla were prisoners. Columbus informed Ovando of the prognostics which he had observed, which Ovando disregarded, and the fleet sailed. Columbus then laid three of his vessels, under the lee of the shore; and, with great difficulty, rode out the tempest. His brother put to sea; and by his great naval skill saved the ship in which he sailed. Of the fleet bound to Spain, 18 ships were lost, and in them perished Roldan and Bovadilla.

The enemies of Columbus gave out that he had raised this storm by the art of magic; and such was the ignorance of the age, that the story was believed: What contributed the more to its credit, was, that one of the worst ships of the fleet, on board of which were all the effects which had been saved from the ruined fortune of Columbus, was the first which arrived in Spain. The amount of these effects was "4000 pesos of gold, each of the value of eight shillings." The remark which Ferdinand Columbus makes on this event, so destructive to the accusers of his father, is, "I am satisfied it was the hand of God who was pleased to infatuate them, that they might not hearken to good advice; for had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished, as their crimes deserved; but rather favoured and preferred as being the Bishop's friends."

After this storm, and another which followed it, Columbus collected his little squadron, sailed on discovery toward the continent, and, steering to the south-west

west, came to an island called Guanania, 12 leagues from the coast of Honduras; where he met with a large covered canoe, having on board several pieces of cotton cloth of divers colours, which the people said they had brought from the westward. The men were armed with swords of wood, in which sharp flints were strongly fixed. Their provision was maize and roots, and they used the berries of cocoa as money. When the Admiral inquired for gold, they pointed to the west, and when he asked for a strait by which he might pass through the land, they pointed to the east. From the specimens of coloured cloth, he imagined, that they had come from India; and hoped to pass thither, by the strait which they described. Pursuing his course to the east and south, he was led to the gulf of Darien; and visited several harbours, among which was one which he called Porto Bello; but he found no passage extending through the land. He then returned to the westward, and landed on the coast of Veragua; where the beauty and fertility of the country invited him to begin a plantation which he called Belem; but the natives, a fierce and formidable race, deprived him of the honour of first establishing a colony on the continent, by killing some of his people and obliging him to retire with the others.

At sea, he met with tempestuous weather of long continuance; in which his ships were so shattered, that with the utmost difficulty he kept them above water, till he ran them ashore on the island of Jamacia. By his extraordinary address, he procured from the natives two of their largest canoes; in which two of his most faithful friends, Mendez and Fiesco, accompanied by some of his sailors and a few Indians, embarked for Hispaniola. After encountering the greatest difficulties, in their passage, they carried tidings of his misfortune to Ovando, and solicited his aid. The merciless wretch detained them eight months without an answer; during which time, Columbus suffered the severest hardships, from the discontent of his company, and want of provisions. By the hospi-
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ality of the natives, he at first received such supplies as they were able to spare ; but the long continuance of these guests had diminished their store, and the insolence of the mutineers gave a check to their friendship.

In this extremity, the fertile invention of Columbus suggested an expedient which proved successful. He knew that a total eclipse of the moon was at hand, which would be visible in the evening. On the preceding day he sent for the principal Indians, to speak with them, on a matter of the utmost importance. Being assembled, he directed his interpreter to tell them, that the God of Heaven, whom he worshipped, was angry with them, for withholding provision from him, and would punish them with famine and pestilence ; as a token of which, the moon would, in the evening, appear of an angry and bloody colour. Some of them received his speech with terror, and others with indifference ; but when the moon rose, and the eclipse increased as she advanced from the horizon, they came in crowds loaded with provision, and begged the Admiral to intercede with his God, for the removal of his anger. Columbus retired to his cabin ; and when the eclipse began to go off, he came out and told them, that he had prayed to his God, and had received this answer ; that if they would be good for the future, and bring him provision as he should want, God would forgive them ; and as a token of it, the moon would put on her usual brightness. They gave him thanks, and promised compliance ; and whilst he remained on the island there was no more want of provision.

At the end of eight months, Ovando sent a small vessel to Jamaica, with a cask of wine, two flitches of bacon, and a letter of compliment and excuse, which the officer delivered ; and without waiting for an answer weighed his anchor the same evening and sailed back to Hispaniola. The men who adhered to Columbus and were with him on board the wrecks, wondered at the sudden departure of the vessel, by which they expected deliverance. Columbus, never at a loss
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for an evasion, told them that the caraval was too small to take the whole company, and he would not go without them. This fiction had the desired effect; those who adhered to him resumed their patience; but the mutineers became so insolent, that it was necessary to subdue them by force. In the contest ten of them were killed. Porras, their leader, was made prisoner, and the others escaped. Bartholomew Columbus and two others of the Admiral's party were wounded, of whom one died.

The fugitives, having lost their leader, thought it best to submit: and on the next day sent a petition to the Admiral, confessing their fault, and promising fidelity. This promise they confirmed by an oath, of which the imprecation was singular; "they renounced, in case of failure, any absolution from Priest, Bishop, or Pope, at the time of their death, and all benefit from the sacraments of the Church; consenting to be buried like heathens and infidels in the open field." The Admiral received their submission, provided that Porras should continue prisoner, and they would accept a commander of his appointment, as long as they should remain on the island.

At length a vessel which Mendez had been permitted to buy, with the Admiral's money, at Hispaniola, came to Jamaica, and took them off. On their arrival at St. Domingo (August 13, 1504) Ovando affected great joy, and treated the Admiral with a show of respect; but he liberated Porras, and threatened with punishment the faithful adherents of Columbus. As soon as the vessel was refitted, the Admiral took leave of his treacherous host, and, with his brother, son, and servants, embarked for Spain. After a long and distressing voyage, in which the ship lost her masts, he arrived at St. Lucar, in May 1505.

His patroness Isabella had been dead about a year; and with her, had expired all the favour which he ever enjoyed in the Court of Ferdinand. Worn out with sickness and fatigue, disgusted with the insincerity of his Sovereign, and the haughtiness of his courtiers,

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Columbus lingered out a year in fruitless solicitation for his violated rights; till death relieved him from all his vexations. He died at Valadolid, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age; and was buried in the cathedral of Seville, with this inscription on his tomb:

*A Castilla ya Leon,
Neuvo Mundo dio Colon.*

TRANSLATED THUS:

“ To Castile and Leon,
“ Columbus gave a new World.

In the life of this remarkable man there is no deficiency of any quality which can constitute a truly great character. His genius was penetrating, and his judgment solid. He had acquired as much knowledge of the sciences as could be obtained at that day; and he corrected what he had learned by his own observations. His constancy and patience were equal to the most hazardous undertakings. His fortitude surmounted many difficulties; and his invention extricated him out of many perplexities. His prudence enabled him to conceal or subdue his own infirmities; whilst he took advantage of the passions of others, adjusting his behaviour to his circumstances; temporizing, or acting with vigor, as the occasion required.

His fidelity to the ungrateful Prince, whom he served, and whose dominions he enlarged, must render him forever conspicuous as an example of justice; and his attachment to the Queen, by whose influence he was raised and supported, will always be a monument of his gratitude.

To his other excellent qualities may be added his piety. He always entertained, and on proper occasions expressed a reverence for the Deity, and a firm confidence in his care and protection. In his declining days, the consolations of religion were his chief support; and his last words were, “ Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.”

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When we consider the ignorance, the bigotry, and the superstition of the times in which Columbus achieved his great undertakings, we cannot enough admire the boldness, the perseverance, and the dexterity of his genius.—In all his plans and enterprises, he had to struggle against the pride of Kings, the malignity of Priests, and the envy of Courtiers.—An anecdote is recorded by Peter Martyr, a cotemporary historian, which displays the quickness of his wit, and the consciousness of his superiority.—The Courtiers affected on all occasions to lessen his merits as a skilful navigator, by saying, that his discoveries were more the result of accident than of knowledge——One day at a public dinner, Columbus having borne much insulting raillery on that head, at length called for an egg, and asked whether any of them could set it upright on its little end. They all confessed it to be impossible. Columbus striking it gently, flatted the shell till it stood upright on the table. The company with a disdainful sneer cried out, “Any body might have done it.”—“Yes (said Columbus) but none of you thought of it; so I discovered the Indies, and now every pilot can steer the same course. Many things appear easy when once performed, though before, they were thought impossible. Remember the scoffs that were thrown at me, before I put my design in execution. Then it was a dream, a chimera, a delusion; now it is what any body might have done as well as I.”

This extraordinary man appears to have united two qualities, which have been generally thought irreconcilable; an enthusiasm bordering on phrenzy, and a caution but little removed from fear. Vigorous and rapid in conceiving a project, and embracing its detail, he determined in a moment the part it became him to act; but his resolution once formed, his enthusiasm vanished, whilst he calmly arranged the means and the mode of carrying it into execution. Determined in his choice of measures by strong and demonstrative assurances of their fitness and propriety, he did not

not abandon a project he had once formed. His ardor and constancy were equalled only by his patience and caution.

The voice of Columbus, as well as his face and person, powerfully seconded his exertions; easily accommodating themselves, by their pliancy and flexibility, to the several passions he wished to convey. Serene and tranquil, when he was desirous of concealing from his associates, the greatness and imminence of their danger; ardent, earnest, and spirited, whilst he sought to reanimate their courage, by the seducing descriptions of riches and honours. His face brightened; his eye appeared to sparkle with hope; and his crews, whilst they listened, secretly reproached themselves with having too hastily doubted of the skill and fortune of their leader.

But, independent of his address and presence of mind, there was in Columbus an inherent respectability of person and deportment, which humbled the crest of lordly distinction, and awed Faction and Envy into silence. Even in the Spanish Court, when its haughty Monarch returned flushed with his recent conquest of Grenada, he found himself compelled, spite of his prejudices, to treat with respect this great man of Nature, who stood in his presence unembarrassed and collected.

Upon the whole—if objects of great and universal benefit shall be preferred to such as are of manifest injury—if to discover a world be more honorable and advantageous, than to waste and make desolate the one, on which mankind, from the beginning of the world, have been made miserable by the mad ambition of their rulers—if the union of learning, of courage, and humanity; of inventive wisdom, and the talents of being able to plan, and to accomplish, be more deserving our esteem and admiration, than the inhuman art of wasting with fire and sword, and of murdering millions in battle—the character of Columbus may safely challenge a superiority above the proudest conquerers recorded in history.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

ALL the attempts towards discovery had hitherto been carried on in Spain by Columbus alone, at the expence of the Crown; but now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors, instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonzo de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal licence authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the Bishop of Badajos easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the Court. Without consulting Columbus, or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in 1492, Ojeda was permitted to set out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the Bishop communicated to him the Admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out into no new path of navigation, but adhering servilely to the rout which Columbus had taken, arrived on the coast of Paria. He traded with the natives and standing to the west; proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the
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opinion of Columbus, that this country was a part of the continent, Ojeda returned by way of Hispaniola to Spain, with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. In what station he served is uncertain; but as he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient to navigation, he seems to have acquired such authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief share in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen; and labouring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative, so as to make it appear that *he* had the glory of having first discovered the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the customs of the countries which he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the New World that was published, a performance so well calculated to gratify the passion of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjust, has perpetuated this error. By the universal consent of nations, AMERICA is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate impostor, have robbed the real discoverer of the new World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of *Amerigo* has supplanted that of *Columbus*; and mankind may regret an act of injustice, which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress.

JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

THE economical disposition of Henry VII. King of England, induced him to preserve tranquillity in his dominions, which greatly contributed to the increase of commerce and manufactures, and to bring thither, merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and the Venetians were remarkably numerous; the former of whom had a street in London appropriated to them, and called by their name.

Among the Venetians resident there at that time, was JOHN CABOT, a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner. He had three sons, Lewis, Sanctius, and SEBASTIAN, all of whom he educated in the same manner. Lewis and Sanctius became eminent men, and settled, the one at Genoa, the other at Venice. Of Sebastian a farther account will be given.

The famous discovery made by Columbus caused great admiration and much discourse in the court of Henry, and among the merchants of England. To find a way to India by the west, had long been a problem with men of science, as well as a desideratum in the mercantile interest. The way was then supposed to be opened; and the specimens of gold, which Columbus had brought home, excited the warmest desire of pursuing that discovery.

Cabot, by his knowledge of the globe, supposed that a shorter way might be found from England to India by the northwest. Having communicated his project to the King, it was favourably received; and on the 5th of March 1496, a commission was granted to "John Cabot, and his three sons, their heirs, and deputies, giving them liberty to sail to all parts of east, west, and north, under the royal banners, and ensigns; *to discover countries of the heathen, unknown to christians*

tians ; to set up the King's banners there ; to occupy and possess as his subjects, such places as they could subdue ; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the King, as often as they should arrive at Bristol, (at which place only they were permitted to arrive) in wares and merchandise, one fifth part of all their gains ; with exemption from all duties on such merchandise as should be brought from their discoveries.

After the granting of this commission, the King gave orders for fitting out two caravals for the purpose of the discovery. These were victualled at the public expence ; and freighted by the merchants of London and Bristol, with coarse cloths and other articles of traffic. The whole company consisted of 300 men.

With this equipment in the beginning of May 1497, John Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed from Bristol towards the northwest, till they reached the latitude of 58 ; where meeting with floating ice, and the weather being severely cold, they altered their course to the southwest ; not expecting to find any land till they should arrive at Cathay, the northern part of China, from whence they intended to pass southward to India.

On the 24th of June, very early in the morning, they were surprised with the sight of land ; which being the first they had seen, they called *Prima Vista*. The description of it is given in these words : " The island which lieth out before the land, he called St. John, because it was discovered on the day of St. John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this island wear beasts' skins. In their wars, they use bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is barren in some places and yieldeth little fruit ; but is full of white bears and stags, far greater than ours. It yieldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seals and salmons. There are soles above a yard in length ; but especially there is great abundance of that kind of fish which the savages call Bacalao (Cod). In the same island are hawks and eagles, as black as ravens ; also patridges. The inhabitants had great plenty of copper."

This land is generally supposed to be some part of the island of Newfoundland; and Dr. Forster thinks that the name *Prima Vista*, was afterward changed to *Bona Vista*, now the northern cape of Trinity bay, in latitude 48 50. Peter Martyr's account is, that Cabot called the land Bacaloas; and there is a small island off the south cape of Trinity bay which bears that name. Mr. Prince, in his chronology, (citing Galvanus for an authority) says, that the land discovered by Cabot was in latitude 45. If this were true, the first discovery was made on the peninsula of Nova Scotia; and as they coasted the land northward, they must have gone into the gulf of St. Lawrence in pursuit of their northwest passage.*

Finding the land still stretching to the northward, and the weather very cold in the month of July, the men became uneasy, and the commanders found it necessary to return to Bacaloas. Having here refreshed themselves, they coasted the land southward, till they came into the same latitude with the straits of Gibraltar 36, or, according to some, no farther than 38, when their provision falling short, they returned to England, bringing three of the *Savages* as a present to the King. "They were cloathed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh; but after two years, were seen in the King's court cloathed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen."

Nothing more is said of John Cabot the father, and some historians ascribe the whole of this discovery to Sebastian only; but at the time of this voyage he could not have been more than 20 years old; when, though he might accompany his father, yet he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. The voyage having produced no specimens of gold; and the
King

* The best accounts of the voyage, preserved by Hakluyt and Purchas, say nothing of the latitude of *Prima Vista*, but speak of their sailing northward, after they had made the land as far as 67.—Stowe, in his Chronicle, says "it was on the north side of Terra de Labrador." This course must have carried them far up the strait which separates Greenland from the continent of America.

King being engaged in a controversy with Scotland, no farther encouragement was given to the spirit of discovery.

After the King's death, Sebastian Cabot was invited to Spain, and was received in a respectful manner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. In their service he sailed on a voyage of discovery to the southern parts of the New Continent; and having visited the coast of Brazil, entered a great river to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata. He sailed up this river 120 leagues; and found it divided into many branches, the shores of which were inhabited by numerous people.

After this, he made other voyages, of which no particular memorials remain. He was honoured by Ferdinand, with a commission of Grand Pilot, and was one of the council of the Indies. His residence was in the city of Seville. His character was gentle, friendly, and social. His employment was the drawing of charts; on which he delineated all the new discoveries made by himself and others. Peter Martyr speaks of him as his friend, with whom he loved familiarly to converse.

In his advanced age, he returned to England, and resided at Bristol. By the favour of the Duke of Somerset, he was introduced to King Edward VI. who took great delight in his conversation and settled on him a pension of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum for life. He was appointed governor of a company of merchants, associated for the purpose of making discoveries of unknown countries. This is a proof of the great esteem, in which he was held as a man of knowledge and experience in his profession. He had a strong persuasion that a passage might be found to China, by the northeast, and warmly patronised the attempt made by Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553 to explore the northern seas, for that purpose. There is still extant a complete set of instructions drawn and subscribed by Cabot, for the direction of the voyage to Cathay, which affords the clearest proof of his sagacity

gacity and penetration. But though this, as well as all other attempts of the kind, proved ineffectual to the principal end in view, yet it was the means of opening a trade with Russia, which proved very beneficial to the company.

The last account which we have of Sebastian is, that in 1556, when the company were sending out a vessel called the *Search-thrift*, under the command of Stephen Burrough, for discovery, the Governor made a visit on board, which is thus related in the journal of the voyage as preserved by Hakluyt:

“The 27th of April, being Monday, the Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabota came aboard our pinnace, at Gravesend, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen; who, after they had viewed our pinnace, and tasted of such cheer as we could make them, went ashore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards. The good old gentleman, Master Cabota, gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the *Search-thrift*, our pinnace. And then at the sign of St. Christopher, he and his friends banqueted; and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself,* among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God.”

Cabot was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. By his ingenuity and industry, he enlarged the bounds of science and promoted the interest of the English nation. Dr. Campbell supposes it was him who first took notice of the variation of the magnetic needle. It had been observed in the first voyage of Columbus to the West Indies; tho' probably Cabot might not have known it, till after he had made the same discovery.

* Cabot was then about eighty years old.

JAMES CARTIER.

THOUGH the English did not prosecute the discovery made by the Cabots, nor avail themselves of the only advantages which it could have afforded them, yet their neighbours of Britanny,* Normandy, and Biscay, wisely pursued the track of those adventurers, and took vast quantities of cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

In 1524, John Verazzani, a Florentine † in the service of France, ranged the coast of the new continent from Florida to Newfoundland, and gave it the name of *New-France*. In a subsequent voyage he was cut to pieces and devoured by the savages.

The voyages of Verazzani having produced no addition to the revenues of France, all further attempts to perfect his discoveries were laid aside ; but the fishery being found conducive to the commercial interest, it was at length conceived, that a plantation in the neighbourhood of the banks might be advantageous. This being represented to King Francis I. by Chabot the Admiral, JAMES CARTIER of St. Malo, was commissioned to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony.

On the 20th of April 1534, he sailed from St. Malo with two ships of 60 tons, and 122 men ; and on the 10th of May, came in sight of Bona Vista, in Newfoundland. But the ice, which lay along the shore obliged him to go southward ; and he entered a harbour

* It is supposed, that the island of Cape Breton took its name from the Bretons, the fishermen of Brittany.

† It is remarkable, that the three great European nations, England, France, and Spain, employed three Italians to conduct their discoveries—Columbus, a Genoese ; Cabot, a Venetian ; and Verazzani, a Florentine—a proof, that there were at that time, men amongst the Italians superior in maritime knowledge to the rest of Europe.

bour to which he gave the name of St. Catharine; where he waited for fair weather, and fitted his boats.

As soon as the season would permit he sailed northward, and examined several harbours and islands, on the coast of Newfoundland; in one of which he found such a quantity of birds, that in half an hour two boats were loaded with them; and after they had eaten as many as they could, five or six barrels full were salted for each ship. This place was called Bird Island.

Having passed Cape de Grat, the northern extremity of the land, he entered the straits of Bellisle, and visited several harbours on the opposite coast of Labrador, one of which he called Cartier's Sound. The harbour is described as one of the best in the world, but the land is stigmatized as the place to which Cain was banished; no vegetation being produced among the rocks, but thorns and moss. Yet, bad as it was, there were inhabitants in it, who lived by catching seals, and seemed to be a wandering tribe.

In circumnavigating the great island of Newfoundland, they found the weather in general cold; but when they had crossed the gulf in a southwesterly direction to the continent, they came into a deep bay, where the climate was so warm, that they named it Baye de Chaleur, or the Bay of Heat. Here were several kinds of wild berries, roses, and meadows of grass. In the fresh waters they caught salmon in great plenty.

Having searched in vain for a passage thro' the bay, they quitted it, and sailed along the coast eastward till they came to the smaller bay of Gaspé; where they sought shelter from a tempest, and were detained 12 days in the month of July. In this place Cartier performed the ceremony of taking possession for the King of France. A cross of 30 feet high was erected on a point of land. On this cross was suspended a shield, with the arms of France, and the words *Vive le Roy de France*. Before it, the people kneeled, uncovered, with their hands extended, and their eyes lift.

lifted toward Heaven. The natives, who were present, beheld the ceremony at first with silent admiration; but after a while, an old man, clad in a bear's skin, made signs to them that the land was his, and that they should not have it without his leave. They then informed him by signs, that the cross was intended only as a mark of direction, by which they might again find the port; and they promised to return the next year, and to bring iron and other commodities.

They thought it proper however to conciliate the old man's good will, by entertaining him on board the ship and making him several presents, by which means, they so prevailed on him, that he permitted Cartier to carry two of his sons, young men, to France on the security of a promise that he would bring them back at his return the next spring.

From Gaspe, he sailed so far into the Great River, afterward called St. Lawrence, as to discover land on the opposite side; but the weather being boisterous, and the current setting against him, he tho't it best to return to Newfoundland, and then to France; where he arrived safe in the harbour of St. Malo on the 5th of September.

The discoveries made in this voyage excited farther curiosity; and the Vice Admiral Melleraye represented Cartier's merits to the King, so favourably, as to procure for him a more ample equipment. Three ships, one of 120, one of 60, and one of 40 tons, were destined to perform another voyage in the ensuing spring; and several young men of distinction entered as volunteers, to seek adventures in the new world. When they were ready to sail, the whole company, after the example of Columbus, went in procession to church on Whitsunday, where the Bishop pronounced his blessing on them. They sailed on the 19th of May 1535. Meeting with tempestuous weather, the ships were separated, and did not join again, till Cartier in the largest ship arrived at Bird Island, where he again filled his boats with fowls, and on the 26th of July was joined by the other vessels.

From Bird Island they pursued the same course as in the preceding summer ; and having come into the gulf on the western side of Newfoundland, gave it the name of St. Lawrence. Here they saw abundance of whales. Passing between the island of Assumption (since called Anticosti) and the northern shore, they sailed up the great river, till they came to a branch on the northern side, which the young natives who were on board called Saguenay ; the main river they told him would carry him to Hockelaga, the capital of the whole country.

After spending some time in exploring the northern coast, to find an opening to the northward, in the beginning of September, he sailed up the river and discovered several islands, one of which, from the multitude of filberts, he called Coudres ; and another, from the vast quantity of grapes, he named Bacchus, (now Orleans.) This island was full of inhabitants, who subsisted by fishing.

When the ships had come to anchor between the N. W. side of the island and the main, Cartier went on shore with his two young Savages. The people of the country were at first afraid of them ; but hearing the youths speak to them in their own language, they became sociable, and brought eels and other fish, with a quantity of Indian corn in ears for the refreshment of their new guests ; in return for which, they were presented with such European baubles as were pleasing to them.

The next day, Donacona, the Prince of the place, came to visit them, attended by twelve boats ; but keeping ten of them at a distance, he approached with two only, containing 16 men. In the true spirit of hospitality, he made a speech, accompanied with significant gestures, welcoming the French to his country, and offering his service to them. The young savages, Taignoagni and Domagaia, answered him, reporting all which they had seen in France, at which he appeared to be pleased. Then approaching the Captain, who held out his hand, he kissed it, and laid it round his neck, in token of friendship. Cartier, on
his

his part entertained Donacona with bread and wine, and they parted mutually pleased.

The next day, Cartier went up in his boat to find a harbour for his ships, the season being so far advanced that it became necessary to secure them. At the west end of the isle of Bacchus, he found "a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, about three feet deep at high water." To this he gave the name of St. Croix, and determined there to lay up his ships.

When Cartier had brought his ships to the harbour and secured them, he intimated his intention to pass in his boats up the river to Hockelaga. Donacona was loth to part with him, and invented several artifices to prevent his going thither. Among others, he contrived to dress three of his men in black and white skins, with horns on their heads, and their faces besmeared with coal, to make them resemble infernal spirits. They were put into a canoe and passed by the ships, brandishing their horns and making an unintelligible harangue. Donacona, with his people pursued and took them, on which they fell down as if dead. They were carried ashore into the woods, and all the savages followed them. A long discourse ensued, and the conclusion of the farce was, that these demons had brought news from the God of Hockelaga, that his country was so full of snow and ice, that whoever should adventure thither would perish with the cold. The artifice afforded diversion to the French, but was too thin to deceive them. Cartier determined to proceed; and on the 19th of September, with his pinnace and two boats, began his voyage up the river to Hockelaga.

The water at that time of the year being low, their passage was rendered difficult; but by the friendly assistance of the natives they surmounted the obstructions. On the 28th of September they passed the rapids between the islands in the upper part of the lake Angoleme (now called St. Peters), and on the 2d of October they arrived at the island of Hockelaga; where

where they had been expected, and preparations were made to give them a welcome reception. About 1000 persons came to meet them, singing and dancing, the men on one side, the women on the other, and the children in a distinct body. Presents of fish and other victuals were brought, and in return were given knives, beads and other trinkets. The Frenchmen lodged the first night in their boats, and the natives watched on the shore, dancing round their fires during the whole night.

The next morning, Cartier, with 25 of his company, went to visit the town, and were met on the way by a person of distinction, who bade them welcome. To him they gave two hatchets and two knives, and hung over his neck a cross, which they taught him to kiss. As they proceeded, they passed through groves of oak, from which the acorns were fallen, and lay thick on the ground. After this, they came to fields of ripe corn, some of which was gathered. In the midst of these fields was situated the town of Hockelaga.

It was of a round form, encompassed with three lines of palisades, thro' which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders, and heaps of stones were laid in proper places for defence. In the town were about fifty long huts, built with stakes, and covered with bark. In the middle of each hut was a fire, round which were lodging-places, floored with bark, and covered with skins. In the upper part was a scaffold, on which they preserved and dried their corn. To prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden mortars, and having mixed it with water, baked it on hot stones. Besides corn, they had beans, squashes and pumpkins. They dried their fish, and preserved them in troughs. These people lived chiefly by tillage and fishing, and seldom went far from home. Those on the lower parts of the river were more given to hunting, and considered the Lord of Hockelaga as their sovereign, to whom they paid tribute.

When

When the new guests were conducted to an open square, in the centre of the town, the females came to them, rubbing their hands and faces, weeping with joy at their arrival, and bringing their children to be touched by the strangers. They spread mats for them on the ground, whilst the men seated themselves in a large circle on the outside. The king was then brought in a litter, on the shoulders of ten men, and placed on a mat, next to the French captain. He was about 50 years old, and had no mark of distinction but a coronet made of porcupine's quills dyed red, which he took off and gave to the captain, requesting him to rub his arms and legs which were trembling with a palsy. Several persons, blind, lame, and withered with age, were also brought to be touched, as if they supposed their new guests were messengers from Heaven, invested with a power of healing diseases. Cartier gratified them as well as he could, by laying his hands on them and repeating some devotional passages from a service-book which he had in his pocket, accompanying his ejaculations with significant gestures, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. The natives attentively observed and imitated all his motions.

Having performed this ceremony, he desired the men, women and children to arrange themselves in separate bodies. To the men he gave hatchets, to the women beads, and to the children rings. He then ordered his drums and trumpets to sound, which highly pleased the company, and set them to dancing.

Being desirous of ascending the hill, under which the town was built, the natives conducted them to the summit, where they were entertained with a most extensive and beautiful prospect of mountains, woods, islands and waters. They observed the course of the river above, and some falls of water in it; and the natives informed them, that they might sail on it for 3 months; that it ran through two or three great lakes, beyond which was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no bounds; and that, on the other side of the mountains, there was another river which ran in a

contrary direction to the southwest, through a country full of delicious fruits, and free from snow and ice ; that there was found such metal as the captain's silver whistle, and the haft of a dagger belonging to one of the company which was gilt with gold. Being shewn some copper, they pointed to the northward, and said it came from Saguenay. To this hill Cartier gave the name of Montreal, which it has ever since retained.

On the 4th of October, Cartier and his company departed from Hockelaga. In passing down the river, they erected a cross on the point of an island, which, with three others, lay in the mouth of a shallow river on the north side, called Fouetz. On the 11th, they arrived at the port de St. Croix, and found that their companions had enclosed the ships with a palisade and rampart, on which they had mounted cannon.

The next day, Donacona invited them to his residence, where they were entertained with the usual festivity, and made the customary presents. They observed that these people used the leaves of an herb [tobacco] which they preserved in pouches made of skins, and smoked in stone pipes. It was very offensive to the French ; but the natives valued it, as contributing much to the preservation of their health. Their houses appeared to be well supplied with provisions. Among other things which were new to the French, they observed the scalps of five men, spread and dried like parchment. These were taken from their enemies, the Toudamani, who came from the south, and were continually at war with them.

Being determined to spend the winter among these friendly people, they traded with them for the provisions which they could spare, and the river supplied them with fish till it was hard frozen.

In December, the scurvy began to make its appearance among the natives, and Cartier prohibited all intercourse with them ; but it was not long before his own men were taken with it. It raged with uncontrolled violence for above two months, and by the middle of February, out of one hundred and ten persons, fifty were sick at once, and eight or ten had died.

In this extremity, Cartier appointed a day of solemn humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk went in procession, through the ice and snow, singing the seven penitential psalms and performing other devotional exercises. At the close of the solemnity Cartier made a vow, that "if it would please God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado," But it was necessary to watch as well as pray. To prevent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceless state, he obliged all who were able, to make as much noise as possible with axes and hammers; and told the natives, that his men were all busily employed, and that he would not suffer any one to go from the ships till their work was done. The ships were fast frozen up from the middle of November to the middle of March; the snow was four feet deep, and higher than the sides of the ships above the ice. The severity of the winter exceeded all which they had ever experienced; the scurvy still raged; 25 men had fallen victims to it, and the others were so weak and low in spirits, that they despaired of ever seeing their native country, and often repented their thirst for gold.

In the depth of this distress and despondency, Cartier, who had escaped the disease, in walking one day on the ice, met some of the natives, among whom was Domagaia, one of the young men who had been with him to France, and who then resided with his countrymen at Stadacona. He had been sick with the scurvy; his sinews had been shrunk and his eyes swollen, his teeth loose and his gums rotten; but he was then recovered, and told Cartier of a certain tree, the leaves and bark of which he had used as a remedy. Cartier expressed his wish to see the tree, telling him that one of his people had been affected with the same disorder. Two women were immediately dispatched, who brought ten or twelve branches, and showed him how to prepare the decoction, which was thus, "to boil the bark and the leaves, to drink of the liquor every

ry other day, and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick."*

This remedy presently came into use on board the ships, and its good effects were so surprising, that, within one week, they were completely healed of the scurvy; and some who had venereal complaints of long standing were also cured by the same means.

The severity of winter having continued 4 months without intermission, at the return of the sun the season became milder, and in April the ice began to break up. On the 3d of May, Cartier took possession of the country by erecting a cross 36 feet high, on which was hung a shield, bearing the arms of France, with this inscription: *FRANCISCUS primus, Dei gratia, FRANCO-RUM, Rex, regnat.*

The same day, being a day of festivity, the two young savages, Taignoagni and Domagaia, with Donacona, the chief of the place, came on board the ships, and were partly prevailed on, and partly constrained, to accompany Cartier to France. A handsome present was made to the family of Donacona; but it was with great reluctance that his friends parted with him, tho' Cartier promised to bring him again at the end of 12 months. On the 6th of May, they sailed from the port of St. Croix, and having touched at St. Peter's in Newfoundland, they arrived at St. Malo in France the 6th of July 1536.

Whether Cartier performed his vow to God, the history does not tell us; certain it is, however, that he did not perform his promise to his passengers. The zeal for adventures of this kind began to abate. Neither gold

* This tree was called by the natives *Ameda*, or *Haneda*—Hakluyt supposes it to have been the Sassafras; but as the leaves were used with the bark, in the winter, it must have been an evergreen; the dregs of the bark were also applied to the fore legs of the patient. From these circumstances, it is thought, that it was the Spruce Pine (*Pinus Canadensis*) which is used in the same manner by the Indians.—Spruce Beer is well known to be a powerful anti-scorbutic, and the bark of it and the White Pine serves as a cataplasm for wounds and sores.

gold nor silver were carried home. The advantages of the fur trade were not fully understood; and the prospect of benefit from cultivation in the short summer of that cold climate, was greatly overbalanced by the length and severity of a Canadian winter. The natives had been so often told of the necessity of baptism, in order to salvation, that, on their arrival in France, they were, at their own request, baptized; but neither of them lived to see their native land again.

The report which Cartier brought home, of the fine country beyond the lakes, had, however, made such an impression on the minds of some, that, at the end of four years, another expedition was projected. Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberval, was commissioned by the King as his lieutenant governor in Canada and Hockelaga, and Cartier was appointed his pilot, with the command of five ships. When they were ready to sail, Roberval had not finished his preparations, and was therefore detained. The king's orders to Cartier being positive, he sailed from St. Malo on the 23d of May 1540.

The winds were adverse, and the voyage tedious. The ships were scattered, and did not arrive at the place of their destination till the 23d of August, when they came to the port of St. Croix in the river of Canada.

The first enquiry made by the natives was for their countrymen who had been carried away. The answer was, that Donacona was dead, and that the others had become great lords, were married in France, and refused to return. Neither sorrow nor resentment were shown on this occasion; but a secret jealousy, which had long been working, received strength from an answer so liable to suspicion.

As the account of the expedition ends here, we can only remark that the colony was broken up, and no farther attempt was made by the French to establish themselves in Canada, till after the expiration of half a century. The last account of Roberval is, that in 1549, he sailed with his brother on some voyage of discovery, and never returned.

In this first visit, which the natives of Canada received from the Europeans, we have a striking instance of their primitive manners. Suspecting no danger, and influenced by no fear, they embraced the stranger with unaffected joy. Their huts were open to receive him, their fires and furs to give warmth and rest to his weary limbs; their food was shared with him or given in exchange for his trifles; they were ready with their simple medicines to heal his diseases and his wounds; they would wade thro' rivers and climb rocks and mountains to guide him in his way, and they would remember and requite his kindness more than it deserved.

Unhappily for them they set too high a value on their new guest. Imagining him to be of a heavenly origin, they were extravagant and unguarded in their first attachment, and from some specimens of his superiority, obvious to their senses, they expected more than ought ever to be expected from beings of the same species. But when the mistake was discovered, and the stranger whom they had adored, proved to be no more than human, having the same inferior desires and passions with themselves; especially when they found their confidence misplaced, and their generous friendship ill requited, then the rage of jealousy extinguished the virtue of benevolence; and they struggled to rid themselves of him, as an enemy, whom they had received into their bosom as a friend.

On the other hand, it was too common for the European adventurer, to regard the man of nature as an inferior being; and whilst he availed himself of his strength and experience, to abuse his confidence, and repay his kindness with insult and injury; to stigmatize him as a heathen and a savage, and to bestow on him the epithets of deceitful, treacherous, and cruel, tho' he himself had first set the example of these detestable vices.

FERDINANDO DE SOTO.

AFTER the conquest of Mexico and Peru, in the beginning of the 16th century, the inextinguishable thirst for gold, which had seized the Spanish adventurers, prompted them to search for that bewitching metal wherever there could be any prospect of finding it. Three unsuccessful attempts had been made in Florida, by Ponce, Gomez, and Narvaez; but because these adventurers did not penetrate the interior parts of the continent, FERDINANDO DE SOTO, Governor of Cuba, who had been a companion of the Pizarros in their Peruvian expedition, and had there amassed much wealth, projected a march into Florida, of which country he had the title of Adelantado, or President. He sailed from the port of Havannah, May 18th, 1539, with nine vessels, 600 men, 213 horses, and a herd of swine, and arrived on the 30th of the same month in the bay of Espiritu Santo, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida.

Being a soldier of fortune and determined on conquest, he immediately pitched his camp and secured it. A foraging party having met with a few Indians who resisted them, two were killed, the others escaped, and reported to their countrymen that the *warriors of fire* had invaded their territories; upon which the smaller towns were deserted and the natives hid in the woods.

Having met with a Spaniard of the party of Narvaez, who had been wrecked on the coast, and had been 12 years a captive with the Indians, Soto made use of him as a messenger to them to inquire for gold and silver; and wherever he could receive any information respecting these precious metals, thither he directed his march.

His

His manner of marching was this: The horsemen carried bags of corn and other provisions; the footmen marched by the side of the horses, and the swine were driven before them. When they first landed they had 13 female swine, which in two years increased to several hundreds; the warmth of the climate being favourable to their propagation, and the forests yielding them a plenty of food.

The first summer and winter were spent in the peninsula of Florida, not far from the bay of Apalache; and in the beginning of the following spring, having sent back his vessels to Cuba for supplies, and left a part of his men at the port, where he expected the ships to return, he marched toward the north and east in search of a place called Yupaha, where he had been informed there was gold.

In this march he crossed the river Altamaha and probably the Ogechee, and came, as he was informed, within two days journey of the bay of St. Helena, where the Spaniards had been several years before. In all this march he staid not more than a week in any one place.

He then set his face northward, and having passed a hilly country, he came to a district called Chalaque, which is supposed to be the country now called Cherokee on the upper branches of the river Savannah. Thence he turned westward, in search of a place called Chiaha, and in this route he crossed the Allegany ridge and came to Chiaha, where his horses and men being excessively fatigued, he rested 30 days. The horses fed in a meadow, and the people lay under the trees, the weather being very hot and the natives in peace. This was in the months of May and June. During their abode they heard of a country called Chisca, where was copper and another metal of the same colour. This country lay northward, and a party was sent with Indian guides to view it. Their report was, that the mountains were impassable, and Soto did not attempt to proceed any farther in that direction.

From

From a careful inspection of the maps in the American Atlas, I am inclined to think that the place where Soto crossed the mountains was within the 35th degree of latitude. In Delisle's map, a village called Canasaga, is laid down on the N. W. side of the Allegany, (or as it is sometimes called) the Apalachian ridge of mountains, in that latitude; and Chiaha is said in Soto's journal to be five days westward from Canasaga.

To ascertain the situation of Chiaha, we must observe, that it is subject to the Lord of Cosa, which is situated on an eastern branch of the Mobbille; and Soto's sick men came down the river from Chiaha in boats. This river could be none but a branch of the Mobbille, and his course was then turned toward the south; in this march he passed thro' Alibama, Talise, Tascalusa, names which are still known and marked on the maps, till he came to the town of Mavilla, which the French pronounce Mouville and Mobbille. It was then a walled town, but the walls were of wood. The inhabitants had conceived a disgust for the Spaniards, which was augmented by an outrage committed on one of their Chiefs, and finally broke out in a severe conflict, in which 2000 of the innocent natives were slain, and many of the Spaniards killed and wounded, and the town was burnt. This was in the latter end of October.

It is probable that Soto intended to pass the winter in the neighbourhood of that village, if he could have kept on friendly terms with the Indians; for there he could have had a communication with Cuba. There he heard that the vessels which he had sent to Cuba for supplies were arrived at Ochus [Pensacola] where he had agreed to meet them; but he kept this information secret, because he had not yet made any discoveries which his Spanish friends would think worthy of regard. The country about him was populous but hostile, and, being void of gold or silver, was not an object for him to possess at the risque of losing his army, of which above 100 had already perished. He
there-

therefore, after staying 28 days for the recovery of his wounded men, determined on a retreat.

In this retreat it has been supposed that he penetrated northward, beyond the Ohio. The truth is, that he began his march from Mavilla, a village near the mouth of the Mobile, on the 18th of November, and on the 17th of December arrived at Chicaca, an Indian village of twenty houses, where they remained till the next April.

The distance, the time, the nature of the country, the course and manner of the march, and the name of the village, all concur to determine this winter station of Soto to be a village of the Chickesaw Indians, situated on the upper part of the Yasou, a branch of the Mississippi, about eighty leagues northwestward from Mobile, and not less than 140 leagues, southwestward from the Muskingum, where are found the fortifications, the cause of so many conjectures. From Chicaca, in the spring, he went westward, and crossed a river within the 34th degree of latitude, which he called Rio Grande, and which is now known to be the Mississippi.

On the western side of the Mississippi, after rambling all the summer, he spent the next winter at a place called Autiamque, where he enclosed his camp with a wall of timber, the work of three days only. Within this enclosure he lodged safely during three months; and, in the succeeding spring, the extreme fatigue and anxiety which he had suffered, threw him into a fever, of which he died, May 21, 1542, at Guacoya. To prevent his death from being known to the Indians, his body was sunk in the middle of a river.

His Lieutenant, Louis de Moscosco, continued to ramble on the western side of the Mississippi, till the next summer; when worn with fatigue, disappointment, and loss of men, he built seven boats, called brigantines, on the Mississippi, in which the shattered remnants consisting of 311, returned to Cuba, in September 1543.

WALTER RALEIGH, &c.

THE distinguished figure which the life of Sir Walter Raleigh makes in the history of England, renders unnecessary any other account of him here, than what respects his adventures in America, and particularly in Virginia, of which colony he is acknowledged to have been the unfortunate founder.

He was half brother, by the mother's side, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert,* and was at the expence of fitting out one of the ships of his squadron. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate of his brother, he persisted in his design of making a settlement in America. Being a favourite in the court of Queen Elizabeth, he obtained a patent, bearing date the 25th of March 1584, for the discovering and planting of any lands and countries, which were not possessed by any *Christian* prince or nation.

About the same time, the Queen granted him another patent, to license the vending of wine throughout the kingdom; that by the profits thence arising, he might be able to bear the expense of his intended plan of colonization. Further to strengthen his interest, he engaged the assistance of two wealthy kinsmen, Sir Richard Grenville and William Sanderson. They provided two barks, and having well furnished them with men and provisions, put them under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, who sailed from the west of England, April 27, 1584.

They took the usual route by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies; the reason of which is thus expressed in the account of this voyage written by Barlow, "because we doubted that the current of the bay of Mexico between the cape of Florida and Havannah, had been of greater force than we afterwards found it to be."

* An unfortunate adventurer to Newfoundland.

Taking advantage of the Gulf stream, they approached the coast of Florida, and on the 2d of July came into shoal water, where the odoriferous smell of flowers indicated the land to be near, though not within sight. On the 4th they saw land, along which they sailed 50 leagues before they found an entrance. At the first opening, they cast anchor (July 13) and having devoutly given thanks to God, for their safe arrival on the coast, they went ashore in their boats, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

The place where they landed was a sandy island, called Wococon,* about 16 miles in length and 6 in breadth, full of cedars, pines, cypress, sassafras and other trees, among which were many vines loaded with grapes. In the woods they found deer and hares, and in the waters and marshes, various kinds of fowl; but no human creature was seen till the third day, when a canoe, with three men, came along by the shore. One of them landed, and, without any fear or precaution, met the Europeans, and addressed them in a friendly manner, in his own language. They carried him on board one of their vessels, gave him a shirt and some other trifles, and regaled him with meat and wine. He then returned to his canoe, and with his companions went a fishing. When the canoe was filled, they brought the fish on shore, and divided them into two heaps, making signs, that each of the vessels should take one.

The next day, several canoes came, in which were 40 or 50 people, and among them was Granganimeo, brother of Wingina, king of the country, who was confined at home by the wounds which he had received in battle with a neighbouring prince. The manner of his approach was fearless and respectful. He left his boats at a distance, and came along the shore, accompanied by all his people, till he was abreast of the ships. Then advancing with 4 men only, who spread a mat on the ground, he sat down on one end, and the

4 men

* This island is supposed to be one of those which lie at the mouth of Albemarle Sound, on the coast of N. Carolina.

4 men on the other. When the English went on shore, armed, he beckoned to them to come and sit by him, which they did, and he made signs of joy and friendship, striking with his hand on his head and breast, and then on theirs, to shew that they were all one. None of his people spoke a word; and when the English offered them presents, he took them all into his own possession, making signs that they were his servants, and that all which they had belonged to him.

After this interview, the natives came in great numbers, and brought skins, coral, and materials for dyes; but when Granganimeo was present, none were permitted to trade, but himself and those who had a piece of copper on their heads. Nothing pleased him so much as a tin plate, in which he made a hole, and hung it over his breast, as a piece of defensive armour. He supplied them every day with venison, fish and fruits; and invited them to visit him at his village, on the north end of an island called Roanoke.

This village consisted of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified with sharp palisades. When the English arrived there in their boat, Granganimeo was absent; but his wife entertained them with the kindest hospitality, washed their feet and their clothes, ordered their boat to be drawn ashore and their oars to be secured, and then feasted them with venison, fish, fruits and homony. Whilst they were at supper, some of her men came in from hunting, with their bows and arrows in their hands, on which her guests began to mistrust danger; but she ordered their bows to be taken from them, and their arrows to be broken, and then turned them out at the gate. The English, however, thought it most prudent to pass the night in their boat, which they launched and laid at anchor. At this she was much grieved; but finding all her solicitations ineffectual, she ordered the victuals in the pots to be put on board, with mats to cover the people from the rain; and appointed several persons of both sexes to keep guard on the beach during the whole night.

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Could

Could there be a more engaging specimen of generous hospitality?

These people are characterized as "gentle, loving and faithful; void of guile and treachery; living after the manner of the golden age; caring only to feed themselves with such food as the soil affordeth, and to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter."

No farther discovery was made of the country by these adventurers. From the natives they obtained some uncertain account of its geography, and of a ship which had been wrecked on the coast between 20 and 30 years before. They carried away two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo, and arrived in the west of England about the middle of September.

The account of this discovery was so welcome to Queen Elizabeth, that she named the country *Virginia*, either in memory of her own virginity, or because it retained its virgin purity, and the people their primitive simplicity.

About this time, Raleigh was elected knight of the shire for his native county of Devon; and in the parliament which was held in the succeeding winter, he caused a bill to be brought into the House of Commons to confirm his patent for the discovery of foreign countries. After much debate, the bill was carried thro' both houses, and received the royal assent. In addition to which, the Queen conferred on him the order of Knighthood.

A second expedition being resolved on, Sir Richard Grenville himself took the command, and with seven vessels, large and small, sailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of April, 1585. They went in the usual course by the Canaries and the West Indies, where they took two Spanish prizes; and after having narrowly escaped shipwreck on Cape Fear, arrived at Wococon the 26th of June.

The natives came, as before, to bid them welcome, and to trade with them. Manteo, whom they had brought back, proved a faithful guide, and piloted them about from place to place. In an excursion of 8 days
with

with their boats, they visited several Indian villages on the islands and on the main, adjoining to Albemarle Sound. At one place, called Aquascogoc, an Indian stole from them a silver cup. Inquiry being made, the offender was detected, and promised to restore it; but the promise not being speedily performed, a hasty and severe revenge was taken, by the orders of Grenville; the town was burnt, and the corn destroyed in the fields, (July 16) whilst the affrighted people fled to the woods for safety. From this ill-judged act of violence, may be dated the misfortunes and failure of this colony.

Leaving 108 persons to attempt a settlement, Grenville proceeded with his fleet to the island of Hatteras, where he received a visit from Granganimeo, and then sailed for England. On the 18th of September he arrived at Plymouth, with a rich Spanish prize which he had taken on the passage.

Of the colony left in Virginia, Ralph Lane was appointed Governor. He was a military man, of considerable reputation in the sea-service. Philip Amadas, who had commanded in the first voyage, was Admiral. They chose the island of Roanoke, in the mouth of Albemarle Sound, as the place of their residence; and their chief employment was to explore and survey the country, and describe the persons and manners of its inhabitants. For these purposes, Sir Walter Raleigh had sent John Withe, an ingenious painter, and Thomas Heriot, a skilful mathematician, and a man of curious observation; both of whom performed their parts with fidelity and success.

The farthest discovery which they made to the southward of Roanoke was Secotan, an Indian town, between the rivers of Pamptico and Neus, distant 80 leagues. To the northward they went about 40 leagues, to a nation called Chesepeags, on a small river, now called Elizabeth, which falls into Chesepeag Bay, below Norfolk. To the westward, they went up Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, about 40 leagues, to a nation called Chowanogs, whose King, Menatonona,

amused them with a story of a copper mine and a pearl fishery, in search of which they spent much time, and so exhausted their provisions, that they were glad to eat their dogs before they returned to Roanoke.

During this excursion, their friend Granganimeo died, and his brother Wingina discovered his hostile disposition toward the colony. The return of Mr. Lane and his party, from their excursion, gave a check to his malice for a while; but he secretly laid a plot for their destruction, which being betrayed to the English, they seized all the boats on the island. This brought on a skirmish, in which five or six Indians were killed, and the rest fled to the woods. After much jealousy and dissimulation on both sides, Wingina was drawn into a snare, and with eight of his men, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the English.

In a few days after Wingina's death, Sir Francis Drake, who had been cruising against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and had received orders from the Queen to visit this colony, arrived with his fleet on the coast, and, by the unanimous desire of the people, took them all off, and carried them to England, where they arrived in July 1586.

Within a fortnight after the departure of this unfortunate colony, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships for their relief. Finding their habitation abandoned, and being unable to gain any intelligence of them, he landed 50 men on the island of Roanoke, plentifully supplied with provisions for two years, and then returned to England.

The next year (1587), three ships were sent, under the command of John White, who was appointed Governor of the colony, with 12 Counsellors. To them Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation for the city of Raleigh, which he ordered them to build on the river Chesepeag, the northern extent of the discovery. After narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear, they arrived at Hatteras, on the 22d of July, and sent a party to Roanoke to look for the second colony of 50 men. They found no person living, and the bones of but one dead.

dead. The huts were standing, but were overgrown with bushes and weeds. In conversation with some of the natives, they were informed, that the colony had been destroyed by Wingina's people, in revenge of his death.

Mr. White endeavoured to renew a friendly intercourse with those natives, but their jealousy rendered them implacable. He, therefore, went across the water to the main, with a party of 25 men, and came suddenly on a company of friendly Indians, who were seated round a fire, one of whom they killed before they discovered the mistake.

Two remarkable events are mentioned as happening at this time: one was the baptism of Manteo, the faithful Indian guide; the other was the birth of a female child, daughter of Ananias Dare, one of the Council, which, being the first child born in the colony, was named *Virginia*.

By this time (August 21), the ships had unloaded their stores, and were preparing to return to England. It was evident that a farther supply was necessary, and that some person must go home to solicit it. A dispute arose in the Council on this point; and, after much altercation, it was determined, that the Governor was the most proper person to be sent on this errand. The whole colony joined in requesting him to proceed, promising to take care of his interest in his absence. With much reluctance he consented, on their subscribing a testimonial of his unwillingness to quit the plantation. He accordingly sailed on the 27th of August, and arrived in England the following November. The nation was in a state of alarm and apprehension on account of the war with Spain, and of the *Invincible Armada*, which had threatened it with an invasion. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the Queen's Council of War, as were also Sir Richard Grenville and Mr. Lane. Their time was wholly taken up with public consultations, and Governor White was obliged to wait, till the plan of operations against the enemy could be adjusted and carried into execution.

The

The next spring, Raleigh and Grenville, who had the command of the militia in Cornwall, and were training them for the defence of the kingdom, being strongly solicited by White, provided two small barks, which sailed from Biddeford on the 22d of April 1588. These vessels had commissions as ships of war, and being more intent on gain to themselves, than relief to the colony, went in chace of prizes, and were both driven back by ships of superior force, to the great mortification of their patron, and the ruin of his colony.

These disappointments were a source of vexation to Raleigh. He had expended 40,000*l.* of his own and other mens' money, in pursuit of his favourite object, and his gains were yet to come. He therefore made an assignment of his patent (March 7, 1589) to Thomas Smith, and other merchants and adventurers, among whom was Governor White, with a donation of 100*l.* for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia. Being thus disengaged from the business of colonization, he had full scope for his martial genius in the war with Spain.

His assignees were not so zealous in the prosecution of their business. It was not till the spring of 1590, that Governor White could return to his colony. Then, with three ships, he sailed from Plymouth, and passing through the West Indies, in quest of Spanish prizes, he arrived at Hatteras, on the 15th of August. From this place, they observed a smoke arising on the island of Roanoke, which gave them some hope that the colony was there subsisting. On their coming to the place, they found old trees and grass burning, but no human being. On a post of one of the houses, they saw the word *Croatan*, which gave them some hope that, at the island of that name, they should find their friends. They sailed for that island, which lay southward of Hatteras; but a violent storm arising, in which they lost their anchors, they were obliged to quit the inhospitable coast, and return home; nor was any thing afterward heard of the unfortunate colony.

The

The next year (1591), Sir Richard Grenville was mortally wounded in an engagement with a Spanish fleet, and died on board the Admiral's ship, where he was prisoner.

Raleigh, tho' disengaged from the business of colonizing Virginia, sent five times, at his own expence, to seek for, and relieve, his friends; but the persons whom he employed, having more profitable business in the West Indies, either went not to the place, or were forced from it by stress of weather, it being a tempestuous region, and without any safe harbour. The last attempt which he made, was in 1602, the year before his imprisonment; an event which gratified the malice of his enemies, and prepared the way for his death, which was much less ignominious to him than to his sovereign, King James I. the *British Solomon*, successor to Elizabeth, the *British Deborah*.*

This unfortunate attempt to settle a colony in Virginia, was productive of one thing which will render it memorable, the introduction of tobacco into England. Cartier, in his visit to Canada, fifty years before, had observed that the natives used this weed in fumigation, but it was an object of disgust to Frenchmen. Ralph Lane, at his return in 1586, brought it first into Europe; and Raleigh, who was a man of gaiety and fashion, not only learned the use of it himself, but introduced it into the polite circles; and even the Queen herself gave encouragement to it. Some humorous stories respecting it are still remembered. Raleigh laid a wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly the weight of smoke which issued from his pipe. This he did by first weighing the tobacco

* The following specimen of the language of those times, and the fulfomeness of the adulation, must be amusing to the reader: — "He (*i. e.* King James) is beyond comparison a meer transcendant, beyond all his predecessors Princes of this Realm; beyond the neighbouring Princes of his own time; beyond the conceit of subjects dazzled with so much brightness; beyond our victorious *Deborah*, not in sex alone, but as peace is more excellent than war, and *Solomon* than David; in this also that he *is*, and we enjoy his present sunshine."

bacco and then the ashes. When the Queen paid the wager, she pleasantly observed, that many labourers had turned their gold into smoke, but that he was the first who had converted smoke into gold.

It is also related that a servant of Sir Walter, bringing a tankard of ale into his study as he was smoking his pipe, and reading, was so alarmed at the appearance of smoke issuing out of his mouth, that he threw the ale into his face, and ran down to alarm the family, crying out that his master was on fire.

King James had so *refined* a taste, that he not only held this Indian weed in great abhorrence himself, but endeavoured, by proclamations and otherwise, to prevent the use of it among his subjects. But all his zeal and authority could not suppress it. Since his time, it has become an important article of commerce to both Americans and Europeans.

JOHN SMITH.

THOUGH the early part of the life of this extraordinary man was spent in foreign travels and adventures which have no reference to America, yet the incidents of that period so strongly mark his character, and give such a tincture to his subsequent actions, and are withal so singular in themselves, that a short account of them must be amusing to the reader.

He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1579. From the first dawn of reason, he discovered a roving and romantic genius, and delighted in extravagant and daring actions among his school fellows. When about 13 years of age, he sold his books and satchel, and his puerile trinkets, to raise money, with a view to convey himself privately to sea; but the death of his father put a stop for the present to this attempt, and threw him into the hands

hands of guardians, who endeavoured to check the ardour of his genius, by confining him to a counting house. Being put apprentice to a merchant at Lynn, at the age of 15, he at first conceived hopes that his master would send him to sea in his service, but this hope failing, he quitted his master, and with only ten shillings in his pocket, entered into the train of a young nobleman who was travelling to France. At Orleans he was discharged from his attendance on Lord Bertie, and had money given him to return to England. With this money he visited Paris, and proceeded to the Low Countries, where he enlisted as a soldier and learned the rudiments of war, a science peculiarly agreeable to his ardent and active genius. Meeting with a Scotch gentleman abroad, he was persuaded to pass into Scotland, with the promise of being strongly recommended to King James; but being baffled in this expectation, he returned to his native town, and finding no company there which suited his taste, he built a booth in a wood, and betook himself to the study of military history and tactics, diverting himself at intervals with his horse and lance; in which exercise he at length found a companion an Italian gentleman, who drew him from his sylvan retirement to Tattersal.

Having recovered a part of the estate which his father had left him, he put himself into a better condition than before, and set off again on his travels, in the winter of the year 1596, being then only 17 years of age. His first stage was Flanders, where meeting with a Frenchman, who pretended to be heir to a noble family, he, with his three attendants, prevailed upon Smith to go with them to France. In a dark night, they arrived at St. Valery, in Picardy, and, by the connivance of the ship master, the Frenchmen were carried ashore with the trunks of our young traveller, whilst he was left on board till the return of the boat. In the mean time, they had conveyed the baggage out of his reach, and were not to be found. A sailor on board, who knew the villains, generously

undertook to conduct him to Mortaine, where they lived, and supplied his wants till their arrival at the place. Here he found their friends, from whom he could gain no recompence; but the report of his sufferings induced several persons of distinction to invite him to their houses.

Eager to pursue his travels, and not caring to receive favours which he was unable to requite, he left his new friends, and went from port to port in search of a ship of war. In one of these rambles, near Dinan, it was his chance to meet one of the villains who had robbed him. Without speaking a word, they both drew, and Smith, having wounded and disarmed his antagonist, obliged him to confess his guilt before a number of persons who had assembled on the occasion. Satisfied with his victory, he retired to the seat of an acquaintance, the earl of Ployer, who had been brought up in England. and having received supplies from him, he travelled along the French coast to Bayonne, and from thence crossed over to Marseilles, visiting and observing every thing in his way which had any reference to naval or military architecture.

At Marseilles he embarked for Italy, in company with a number of pilgrims. The ship was forced by a tempest into the harbour of Toulon, and afterward was obliged by a contrary wind to anchor under the little island of St. Mary, off Nice in Savoy. The bigotry of the pilgrims made them ascribe their ill fortune to the presence of a heretic on board!—They devoutly cursed Smith and his Queen Elizabeth, and in a fit of pious rage threw him into the sea. He swam to the island, and the next day was taken on board a ship of St. Malo, which had also put in there for shelter. The master of the ship, who was well known to his noble friend the earl of Ployer, entertained him kindly, and carried him to Alexandria, in Egypt; from thence he coasted the Levant, and on his return had the high satisfaction of a naval engagement with a Venetian ship, which they took, and rifled of her rich cargo. Smith was set on shore at Antibes, with a box of 1000

chequins (about 2000 dollars), by the help of which he made the tour of Italy, crossed the Adriatic, and travelled into Stiria, to the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Here he met with an English and an Irish Jesuit, who introduced him to lord Eberspaught, baron Kizel and other officers of distinction; and here he found full scope for his genius, for the emperor being then at war with the Turks, he entered into his army as a volunteer.

He had communicated to Eberspaught a method of conversing at a distance, by signals made with torches, which being alternately shewn and hidden a certain number of times, designated every letter of the alphabet. He had soon after an opportunity of making the experiment. Eberspaught being besieged by the Turks in the strong town of Olimpach, was cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour from his friends. Smith proposed his method of communication to baron Kizel, who approved it, and allowed him to put it in practice.* He was conveyed by a guard to a hill within view of the town, and sufficiently remote from the Turkish camp. At the display of the signal, Eberspaught knew and answered it, and Smith conveyed to him this intelligence, "Thursday night, I will charge on the east; at the alarm sally thou." The answer was, "I will." Just before the attack, by Smith's advice, a great number of false fires were made

* The method was this:—First, three torches are shewn in a line equi-distant from each other, which are answered by three others in the same manner. Then the message being written as briefly as possible, and the alphabet divided into two parts, the letters from A to L are signified by shewing and hiding *one* light, as often as there are letters from A to that letter which you mean. The letters from M to Z by *two* lights in the same manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing *three* lights. At every letter, the light stands till the other party writes it and answers by his signal, which is *one* light. — [From hence we may perceive the first idea of what is now called the *Telegraphie*, and from which the succeeding improvement was not so wonderful a discovery, or invention, as has been imagined.]

made on another quarter, which divided the attention of the enemy, and gave advantage to the assailants, who, being assisted by a sally from the town, killed many of the Turks, drove others into the river, and threw succours into the place, which obliged the enemy the next day to raise the siege. This well-conducted exploit produced to our young adventurer the command of a company, consisting of 250 horsemen, in the regiment of count Meldrick, a nobleman of Transylvania.

The regiment in which he served being engaged in several hazardous enterprizes, Smith was foremost in all dangers, and distinguished himself both by his ingenuity and by his valour; and when Meldrick left the Imperial army, and passed into the service of his native prince, Smith followed him.

At the siege of Regal, the Ottomans derided the slow approaches of the Transylvanian army, and sent a challenge, purporting that the Lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any single Captain of the Christian troops.

The honour of accepting this challenge, being determined by lot, fell on Captain Smith; who, meeting his antagonist on horseback, within view of the ladies on the battlements, at the sound of music, began the encounter, and in a short time killed him, and bore away his head in triumph to his general the Lord Moyzes.

The death of the chief so irritated his friend Grualgo, that he sent a particular challenge to the conqueror, who, meeting him with the same ceremonies, after a smart combat, took of his head also. Smith then in his turn sent a message into the town, informing the ladies, that if they wished for more diversion, they should be welcome to his head, in case their third Champion could take it. This challenge was accepted by Bonamolgro, who unhorsed Smith and was near gaining the victory—But remounting in a critical moment, he gave the Turk a stroke with his falchion which brought him to the ground, and his head

head was added to the number. For these singular exploits he was honoured with a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and the 'Turks' heads on the point of three lances. With this ceremony Smith was conducted to the pavilion of his general, who, after embracing him, presented him with a horse richly furnished, a scymitar and belt worth 300 ducats, and a commission to be major in his regiment. The Prince of Transylvania, after the capture of the place, made him a present of his picture set in gold, and a pension of 300 ducats per annum, and moreover granted him a coat of arms bearing three 'Turks' heads in a shield. The patent was admitted and recorded in the college of Heralds in England, by Sir Henry Segar, garter king at arms. Smith was always proud of this distinguishing honour, and these arms are accordingly blazoned in the frontispiece to his history, with this motto,

" Vincere est vivere."

After this, the Transylvanian army was defeated by a body of Turks and Tartars near Rotenton, and many brave men were slain, among whom were nine English and Scots officers, who, after the fashion of that day, had entered into this service, from a religious zeal to drive the Turks out of Christendom. Smith was wounded in this battle, and lay among the dead. His habit discovered him to the victors as a person of consequence; they used him well till his wounds were healed, and then sold him to the Basha Bogal, who sent him as a present to his mistress *Tragabigzanda* at Constantinople, accompanied with a message as full of vanity as void of truth, that he had conquered in battle a Bohemian nobleman, and presented him to her as a slave.

The present proved more acceptable to the lady than her lord intended. She could speak Italian, and Smith, in that language, not only informed her of his country and quality, but conversed with her in so pleasing a manner, as to gain her affections. The connexion proved so tender, that, to secure him for herself

self, and to prevent his being ill used or sold again^d she sent him to her brother the Basha of Nalbraitz^d in the country of the Cambrian Tartars, on the borders of the sea of Asoph. Her pretence was, that he should there learn the manners and language, as well as religion of the Tartars. By the terms in which she wrote to her brother, he suspected her design, and resolved to disappoint her. Within an hour after Smith's arrival, he was stripped, his head and beard were shaven, an iron collar was put about his neck, he was clothed with a coat of hair-cloth, and driven to labour among other Christian slaves. He had now no hope of redemption, but from the love of his mistress, who was at a great distance, and not likely to be informed of his misfortune; the hopeless condition of his fellow-slaves could not alleviate his despondency.

In the depth of his distress, an opportunity presented for an escape, which to a person of a less courageous and adventurous spirit, would have proved an aggravation of misery. He was employed in threshing, at a grange, in a large field, about a league from the house of his tyrant, who, in his daily visits, treated him with abusive language, accompanied with blows and kicks. This was more than Smith could bear; wherefore, watching an opportunity, when no other person was present, he levelled a stroke at him with his threshing instrument, which dispatched him. Then, hiding his body in the straw, and shutting the doors, he filled a bag with grain, mounted the Basha's horse, and betaking himself to the desert, wandered for two or three days, ignorant of the way, and so fortunate as not to meet with a single person who might give information of his flight. At length he came to a post erected in a cross-road, by the marks on which he found the way to Muscovy, and in 16 days arrived at Exapolis, on the river Don, where was a Russian garrison, the commander of which, understanding that he was a Christian, received him courteously, took off his iron collar, and gave him letters to the other governors in that region. Thus he travelled through
part

part of Russia and Poland, till he got back to his friends in Transylvania, receiving presents in his way from many persons of distinction, among whom he mentions a charitable lady, Callamata, being always proud of his connexion with that sex, and fond of acknowledging their favours. At Leipsic he met with his colonel, count Meldrick, and Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who gave him 1500 ducats to repair his losses. With this money, he was enabled to travel thro' Germany, France, and Spain, and having visited the kingdom of Morocco, he returned by sea to England, having in his passage enjoyed the pleasure of another naval engagement. At his arrival in his native country, he had 1000 ducats in his purse, which, with the interest he had remaining in England, he devoted to seek adventures and make discoveries in North America.

Bartholomew Gosnold having conceived a favourable idea of America, had made it his business, on his return to England, to solicit assistance in prosecuting discoveries. Meeting with Captain Smith, he readily entered into his views, the employment being exactly suited to his enterprizing genius. Having engaged Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and several others, they prevailed upon a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, to solicit a patent from the Crown, by which the adventurers to Virginia became subject to legal direction, and had the support and encouragement of a wealthy and respectable corporation, which was usually styled the South Virginia Company or the London Company, in distinction from the Plymouth Company, who superintended the affairs of North Virginia. The date of their patent was April 10, 1606, and on the 19th of the following December, three ships, one of 100 tons, another of 40, and one of 20, fell down the river Thames for Virginia. The commander was Christopher Newport, an experienced mariner. They had on board the necessary persons and provisions for a colony, and their orders for government were sealed

in a box, which was not to be opened till they should arrive in Virginia.

The ships were kept in the Downs, by bad weather, six weeks, and afterwards had a tempestuous voyage. They took the old route by the Canary and Caribbee islands, and did not make the entrance of Chesapeak Bay till the 26th of April 1607. From the beginning of their embarkation, there was a jealousy and dissension among the company. Smith and Hunt were friends, and both were envied and suspected by the others. Hunt was judicious and patient, and his office secured him from insult. Smith was ardent and industrious, courteous in his deportment, but liberal in his language. On some suggestions that he intended to usurp the government, and that his confederates were dispersed among the companies of each ship, he was made a prisoner, from the time of their leaving the Canaries, and was under confinement when they arrived in the Chesapeak. When the box was opened, it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward M. Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliff, John Martin, and George Kendal were named to be of the Council, who were to chuse a president from among themselves, for one year, and the government was vested in them. Matters of moment were to be "examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the Council, in which the president had two voices." When the Council was sworn, Wingfield was chosen president, and a declaration was made of the reasons for which Smith was not admitted and sworn among the others.

Seventeen days from their arrival were spent in seeking a proper place for their first plantation. The southern point of the bay was named Cape Henry, and the northern Cape Charles, in honour of the two sons of King James. To the first great river which they discovered they gave the name of their sovereign, and the northern point of its entrance was called Point Comfort, on account of the good channel and anchorage which they found there. On the flats, they took
plenty

plenty of oysters, in some of which were pearls; and on the plain, they found large and ripe strawberries, which afforded them a delicious repast.

Having met with five of the natives, they invited them to their town, Kecoughtan, where Hampton is now built. Here they were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and regaled with tobacco and a dance; in return, they presented the natives beads and other trinkets. Proceeding up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. Their chief, Apamaticca, holding in one hand his bow and arrow, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming; they made signs of peace, and were hospitably received. On the 13th of May, they pitched upon a peninsula where the ships could lie in six fathom water, moored to the trees, as the place of their intended settlement. Here they were visited by Paspiha, another Indian chief, who being made acquainted with their design, offered them as much land as they wanted, and afterward sent them a deer for their entertainment. On this spot they pitched their tents, and gave it the name of James-town.

Every man was now employed either in digging and planting gardens, or making nets, or in cutting and riving timber to relade the ships. The president at first would admit of no martial exercise, nor allow any fortifications to be made, excepting the boughs of trees thrown together in the form of a half-moon. Captain Newport took Smith and 20 more with him, to discover the head of James-river. In six days they arrived at the falls, and erecting a cross, as they had at Cape Henry, took possession of the country in the name of King James. In this route, they visited *Powhatan*, the principal Indian chief, or Emperor. His town consisted of twelve houses, pleasantly situated on a hill, before which were three islands, a little below where Richmond is now built. Captain Newport presented a hatchet to this prince, which he gratefully received, and when some of his Indians murmured at the coming of the English among them, he

he silenced them by saying, "why should we be offended? they want only a little ground which we can easily spare." This appearance of friendship was not much relied on, when, at their return to James-town, they found that the company had been surprised at their work by a party of Indians, who had killed one, and wounded 17 others. A double-headed shot from one of the ships had cut off a bough of a tree, which falling among the Indians, terrified and dispersed them. This incident obliged the president to alter the plan of the fort, which was now a triangular palisade, with a lunette at each angle; and 5 pieces of artillery were mounted on the works, which were completed by the 15th of June. It was also found necessary to exercise the men at arms, to mount guard, and be vigilant, for the Indians would surprise and molest stragglers, whilst, by their superior agility, they would escape unhurt.

The ships being almost ready to return, it was thought proper that some decision should be had respecting the allegations against Smith. His accusers affected commiseration, and pretended to refer him to the censure of the Company in England, rather than expose him to a legal prosecution, which might injure his reputation or touch his life. Smith, who knew both their malice and their impotence, openly scorned their pretended pity, and defied their resentment. He had conducted himself so unexceptionably in every employment which had been allotted to him, that he had rendered himself very popular; and his accusers had, by a different conduct, lost the affections and confidence of the people. Those who had been suborned to accuse him, acknowledged their fault, and discovered the secret arts which had been practised against him. He demanded a trial, and the issue was, that the President was adjudged to pay him 200%. but when his property was seized in part of this satisfaction, Smith generously turned it into the common store, for the benefit of the colony. Such an action could not but increase his popularity. Many other dif-

difficulties had arisen among them, which, by the influence of Smith, and the exhortations of Hunt, their chaplain, were brought to a seemingly amicable conclusion. Smith was admitted to his seat in the Council, and on the next Sunday they celebrated the communion. At the same time, the Indians came in, and voluntarily desired peace. With the good report of these transactions, Newport sailed for England on the 22d of June, promising to return in 20 weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony thus left in Virginia consisted of 104 persons, in very miserable circumstances, especially on account of provisions, to which calamity their long voyage did not a little contribute, both as it consumed their stock, and deprived them of the opportunity of sowing seasonably in the spring. Whilst the ships remained, they could barter with the sailors for bread; but, after their departure, each man's allowance was half a pint of damaged wheat, and as much barley, per day; the river, which at the flood was salt, and at the ebb was muddy, afforded them their only drink; it also supplied them with sturgeon and shell-fish. This kind of food, with their continual labour in the heat of summer, and their frequent watchings by night, in all weathers, having only the bare ground to lie on, with but a slight covering, produced diseases among them, which, by the month of September, carried off 50 persons, among whom was Captain Gosnold. Those who remained were divided into three watches, of whom not more than five in each were capable of duty at once. All this time, the President Wingfield, who had the key of the stores, monopolized the few refreshments which remained, and was meditating to desert the plantation privately in the pinnace, and remove to the West Indies. These things rendered him so hateful to the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Ratcliffe in his room; they also removed Kendal from his place in the Council, so that, by the middle of September, three members only were left.

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Ratcliffe, being a man of no resolution nor activity, committed the management of affairs abroad to Smith, in whom his confidence was not misplaced. At the same time, the Indians in their neighbourhood brought in a plentiful supply of such provisions as they had, which revived their drooping spirits; and Smith, seeing the necessity of exertion, to secure themselves, and provide for the approaching winter, partly by his animating speeches, but more by his example, set them to work in mowing and binding thatch, and in building and covering houses. In these exercises he bore a large share, and, in a short time, got a sufficiency of houses to make comfortable lodgings for all the people, excepting himself. This being done, and the provisions which the natives had brought in being expended, he picked a number of the best hands, and embarked in a shallop which they had brought from England, to search the country for another supply.

The party which accompanied Smith in this excursion, consisted of six men, well armed, but ill provided with clothing and other necessaries. What was wanting in equipment was to be supplied by resolution and address; and Smith's genius was equal to the attempt. They proceeded down the river to Kecoughtan [Hampton] where the natives, knowing the needy state of the colony, treated them with contempt, offering them an ear of corn in exchange for a musket, or a sword, and in like proportion for their scant and tattered garments. Finding that courtesy and gentle treatment would not prevail, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of barter, and moreover provoked by their contempt, Smith ordered his boat to be drawn on shore and his men to fire at them. The affrighted natives fled to the woods, whilst the party searched their houses in which they found plenty of corn; but Smith did not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return and attack them. They soon appeared to the number of sixty or seventy, formed into a square, carrying their idol *Okee*, composed of skins, stuffed with moss and adorned

ed with chains of copper. They were armed with clubs and targets, bows and arrows, and advanced, singing to the charge. The party received them with a volley of shot, which brought several of them to the ground and their idol among them; the rest fled again to the woods, from whence they sent a deputation to offer peace and redeem their god. Smith having in his hands so valuable a pledge, was able to bring them to his own terms; he stipulated that six of them should come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, and on this condition he would be their friend and give them hatchets, beads and copper. These stipulations were faithfully performed on both sides; and the Indians in addition presented them with venison, turkeys, and other birds; and continued singing and dancing till their departure.

The success of this attempt encouraged him to repeat his excursions by land and water, in the course of which he discovered several branches of James River, and particularly the Chickahamony, from whose fertile banks he hoped to supply the colony with provision. But industry abroad, will not make a flourishing plantation without economy at home. What he had taken pains and risked his life to provide, was carelessly and wantonly expended; the traffic with the natives being under no regulation, each person made his own bargain, and by out-bidding each other, they taught the Indians to set a higher value on their commodities, and to think themselves cheated when they did not all get the same prices. This bred a jealousy and sowed the seeds of a quarrel with them, which the colony were in a poor condition to maintain, being at variance among themselves.

As the autumn advanced, the waters were covered with innumerable wild fowl; which with the addition of corn, beans, and pumpkins, procured from the Indians, changed hunger into luxury, and abated the rage for abandoning the country. Smith had been once up the river Chickahamony, but because he had not penetrated to its source, exceptions were made to
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his conduct as too dilatory. This imputation he determined to remove. In his next voyage, he went so high that he was obliged to cut the trees, which had fallen into the river, to make his way thro' as far as his boat could swim. He then left her in a safe place, ordering his men not to quit her until his return; then taking two of them, and two Indians for guides, he proceeded in one of their canoes to the meadows at the river's head; and leaving his two men with the canoe he went with his Indian guides across the meadows. A party of 300 Indians below, had watched the motions of the boat. They first surprized the straggling crew, and made one of them prisoner, from whom they learned that Smith was above. They next found the men whom he had left with the canoe, asleep by a fire, and killed them; then having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself thus assaulted and wounded, he bound one of his Indian guides with his garters to his left arm, and made use of him as a shield, whilst he dispatched three of his enemies and wounded some others. He was retreating to his canoe, when regarding his enemies more than his footsteps, he suddenly plunged with his guide into an oozy creek, and stuck fast in the mud. The Indians astonished at his bravery did not approach him, till almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms, and begged them to draw him out, which they did and led him to the fire, where his slain companions were lying. This sight admonished him what he was to expect. Being revived by their chafing his benumbed limbs, he called for their chief, Opechankanow, King of Pamunkee, to whom he presented his ivory compass and dial. The vibrations of the needle, and the fly under the glass, which they could see but not touch, afforded them much amusement; and Smith having learned something of their language, partly by means of that, and partly by signs, entertained them with the nature and uses of the instrument; and gave them such a lecture on the motions of the heavens and earth, as amazed them

them, and suspended for a time the execution of their purpose. At length, curiosity being satiated, they fastened him to a tree, and prepared to dispatch him with their arrows. At this instant, the chief holding up the compass which he esteemed as a divinity, they laid aside their arms, and forming a military procession, led him in triumph to their village Orapaxe. The order of their march was thus: they ranged themselves in a single file, the King in the midst, before him were borne the arms taken from Smith and his companions; next after the King, came the prisoner, held by three stout savages, and on each side a file of six. When they arrived at the village, the old men, women, and children, came out to receive them; after some manœuvres, which had the appearance of regularity, they formed themselves round the King and his prisoner, into a circle, dancing and singing, adorned with paint, furs and feathers, brandishing their rattles, which were made of the tails of rattle-snakes. After three dances, they dispersed, and Smith was led to a long hut, guarded by forty men. There he was so plentifully feasted with bread and venison, that he suspected their intention was to fatten and kill him. One of the Indians, to whom Smith had formerly given beads, brought him a garment of furs, to defend him from the cold. Another, whose son was then sick and dying, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by the guard. Smith being conducted to the dying youth, told them that he had a medicine at James-town, which would cure him, if they would let him fetch it; but they had another design, which was to surprize the place, and make use of him as a guide. To induce him to perform this service, they promised him his liberty, with as much land, and as many women as would content him. Smith magnified the difficulty and danger of their attempt, from the ordnance, mines and other defences of the place, which exceedingly terrified them, and to convince them of the truth of what he told them, he wrote on a leaf of his pocket-book, an inventory of

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what he wanted, with some directions to the people at the fort, how to affright the messengers who went to deliver the letter. They returned in three days, reporting the terror into which they had been thrown, and when they produced the things for which he had written, the whole company were astonished at the power of his divination by the *speaking leaf*.

After this they carried him thro' several nations, inhabiting the banks of the Potowmack and Rapahanock, and at length brought him to Pamunkee; where they performed a strange ceremony, by which they intended to divine whether his intention toward them were friendly or hostile. The manner of it was this: early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was placed and the guard retired. Presently, an Indian priest, hideously painted and dressed in furs and snake skins, came skipping in, and after a variety of uncouth noises and gestures, drew a circle with meal round the fire. Then came in three more in the same frightful dress, and after they had performed their dance three others. They all sat opposite to him in a line, the chief priest in the midst. After singing a song, accompanied with the music of their rattles, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short speech three more; this was repeated till the fire was encircled. Then continuing the incantation, he laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, with fasting; and at night a feast was prepared of the best meats which they had. The same tricks were repeated the two following days. They told him that the circle of meal represented their country, the circle of corn the sea shore, and the sticks his country; they did not acquaint him, or he has not acquainted us with the result of the operation; but he observed that the gunpowder which they had taken from him, was laid up among their corn, to be planted the next spring.

After these ceremonies, they brought him to the emperor Powhatan, who received him in royal state, cloth-

clothed in a robe of racoon skins, seated on a kind of throne, elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire ; at each hand of the prince sat two beautiful girls, his daughters, and along each side of the house a row of his counsellors, painted and adorned with feathers and shells. At Smith's entrance a great shout was made. The Queen of Apamatox, brought him water to wash his hands, and another served him with a bunch of feathers instead of a towel. Having feasted him after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in, on one of which his head was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment, *Pocahontas*, the King's favourite daughter, flew to him, took his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her tender intreaties prevailed. The king consented that Smith should live, to make hatchets for him and ornaments for her.

Two days after, Powhatan caused him to be brought to a distant house ; where, after another threatening, he confirmed his promise, and told him he should return to the fort, and send him two pieces of cannon, and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahousick, and for ever esteem him as his son. Twelve guides accompanied him, and he arrived at James-town the next day. According to the stipulation, two guns and a large grindstone were offered them ; but having in vain tried to lift them they were content to let them remain in their place. Smith, however, had the guns loaded, and discharged a volley of stones at a tree covered with icicles. The report and effect confounded them ; but being pacified with a few toys, they returned, carrying presents to Powhatan and his daughter, of such things as gave them entire satisfaction. After this adventure, the young princess, *Pocahontas*, frequently visited the plantation, with her attendants, and the refreshments which she brought from time to time proved the means of saving many lives, which otherwise would have been lost.

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Smith's return happened at another critical juncture. The colony was divided into parties, and the malcontents were again preparing to quit the country. His presence a third time defeated the project; in revenge for which they meditated to put him to death, under pretence that he had been the means of murdering the two men who went with him in the canoe; but by a proper application of valour and strength, he put his accusers under confinement, till an opportunity presented for sending them as prisoners to England.

The misfortunes and mismanagements of this Virginian colony, during the period here related, seem to have originated partly in the tempers and qualifications of the men who were appointed to command, and partly in the nature and circumstances of the adventure. There could be no choice of men for the service, but among those who offered themselves; and these were previously strangers to each other, as well as different in their education, qualities and habits. Some of them had been used to the command of ships, and partook of the roughness of the element on which they were bred. It is, perhaps, no great compliment to Smith, to say that he was the best qualified of them for command; since the event proved that none of them, who survived the first sickness, had the confidence of the people in any degree. It is certain that his resolution prevented the abandonment of the place the first year; his enterprizing spirit led to an exploration of the country, and acquainted them with its many advantages; his captivity produced an intercourse with the savages, and the supplies gained from them, chiefly by means of his address, kept the people alive till the second arrival of the ships from England. The Virginians, therefore, justly regard him, if not as the father, yet as the saviour of that infant plantation.

In the winter 1607, Capt. Newport arrived from England in Virginia. The other ship, commanded by Capt. Nelson, which sailed at the same time, was dismasted on the American coast, and blown off to the

the West Indies. The supplies sent by the company were received in Virginia with the most cordial avidity ; but the general license given to the sailors, to trade with the savages, proved detrimental to the planters, as it raised the prices of their commodities so high, that a pound of copper would not purchase what before could be bought for an ounce. Newport himself was not free from this spirit of profusion, so common to seafaring men, which he manifested by sending presents of various kinds to Powhatan, intending thereby to give him an idea of the grandeur of the English nation. In a visit which he made to this Prince, under the conduct of Smith, he was received and entertained with an equal show of magnificence ; but in trading with the savage chief he found himself outwitted. Powhatan in a lofty strain, spoke to him thus : “ It is not agreeable to the greatness of such men as *we* are, to trade like common people for trifles ; lay down therefore at once, all your goods, and I will give you the full value for them.” Smith perceived the snare, and warned Newport of it ; but he, thinking to outbrave the savage prince, displayed the whole of his store. Powhatan then set such a price on his corn, that not more than four bushels could be procured ; and the necessary supplies could not have been had, if Smith’s genius, ever ready at invention, had not hit on an artifice which proved successful. He had secreted some trifles, and among them a parcel of blue beads, which seemingly in a careless way, he glanced in the eyes of Powhatan. The bait caught him ; and he earnestly desired to purchase them. Smith, in his turn, raised the value of them, extolling them as the most precious jewels, resembling the colour of the sky, and proper only for the noblest sovereigns in the universe. Powhatan’s imagination was all on fire ; he made large offers. Smith insisted on more, and at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take between two and three hundred bushels of corn for about two pounds of blue beads, and they parted in very good humour, each one being very much pleased with
his

bargain. In a subsequent visit to Opechankanow, King of Pamunkee, the company were entertained with the same kind of splendor, and a similar bargain closed the festivity; by which means, the blue beads grew into such estimation, that none but the princes and their families were able to wear them.

Having finished the necessary business of the season, and dispatched the ship, another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Capt. Smith and fourteen others. They went down the river (June 10, 1608) in an open barge, in company with the ship, and having parted with her at Cape Henry, they crossed the mouth of the bay, and fell in with a cluster of islands without Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, which they still bear. Then re-entering the bay they landed on the eastern neck, and were kindly received by Acomack, the prince of that peninsula, a part of which still bears his name. From thence they coasted the eastern shore of the bay, and landed sometimes on the main, and at other times on the low islands, of which they found many, but none fit for habitation. They proceeded up the bay to the northward, and crossed over to the western shore, down which they coasted to the southward, and in this route discovered the mouths of the great rivers which fall into the bay on that side. One in particular attracted much of their attention, because of a reddish earth which they found there, and from its resemblance to bole ammoniac, they gave it the name of Bolus-river, and it is so named in all the early maps of the country; but in the latter, it bears the Indian name Patapsco, on the north side of which is now the flourishing town of Baltimore.

The Virginia Company in London, deceived by false reports, and misled by their own sanguine imaginations, had conceived an expectation not only of finding precious metals in the country, but of discovering the South Sea from the mountains at the head of James-river, and it was thought that the journey there might be performed in 8 or 10 days. For the purpose of
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making this capital discovery, they put on board Newport's ship, a barge capable of being taken to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. This barge was to make a voyage to the head of the river, then to be carried in pieces across the mountains, and to descend the rivers which were supposed to run westward to the South Sea. To facilitate this plan, it was necessary to gain the favour of Powhatan, thro' whose country the passage must be made; and, as means of winning him, a royal present was brought over, consisting of a bason and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, with a cloak and a crown, all which were to be presented to him in due form, and the crown placed on his head, with as much solemnity as possible.

The present being put on board the boats, was carried down James-river, and up the Pamunkee, whilst Newport, with 50 men, went across by land, and met the boats, in which he passed the river, and held the proposed interview. All things being prepared for the ceremony of coronation, the present was brought from the boats; the bason and ewer were deposited, the bed and chair were set up, the scarlet suit and cloak were put on, tho' not till Namontac (an Indian youth whom Newport had carried to England and brought back again) had assured him that these habiliments would do him no harm; but they had great difficulty in persuading him to receive the crown, nor would he bend his knee or incline his head in the least degree. After many attempts, and with actual pressing on his shoulders, they at last made him stoop a little, and put it on. Instantly, a signal being given, the men in the boats fired a volley, at which the monarch started with horror, imagining that a design was forming to destroy him in the summit of his glory; but being assured that it was meant as a compliment, his fear subsided, and in return for the baubles of royalty received from King James, he desired Newport to present him his old fur mantle and deer-skin shoes, which in his estimation were doubtless a full equivalent, since
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all this finery could not prevail on the wary chief to allow them guides for the discovery of the inland country, or to approve their design of visiting it.

The harvest of 1608 had fallen short both among the new planters and the natives, and the colony was indebted to the inventive genius and indefatigable perseverance of Smith, for their subsistence during the succeeding winter. The supplies procured by trading being insufficient, and hunger very pressing, Smith ventured on the dangerous project of surprizing Powhatan, and carrying off his whole stock of provisions. This Indian prince had formed a similar design with respect to Smith, and, for the purpose of betraying him, had invited him to his seat, promising that if he would send men to build him a house, after the English mode, and give him some guns and swords, copper and beads, he would load his boat with corn. Smith sent him 3 Dutch carpenters, who treacherously revealed to him the design which Smith had formed. On his arrival with 46 men, he found the prince so much on his guard, that it was impossible to execute his design. Having spent the day in conversation (in the course of which Powhatan had in vain endeavoured to persuade Smith to lay aside his arms, as being there in perfect security) he retired in the evening, and formed a design to surprize Smith and his people at their supper; and had it not been for the affectionate friendship of Pocahontas, it would probably have been effected. This amiable girl, at the risque of her life, stole from the side of her father, and passing in the dark thro' the woods, told Smith, with tears in her eyes, of the plot, and then as privately returned. When the Indians brought in the supper, Smith obliged them to taste of every dish; his arms were in readiness, and his men vigilant; and tho' there came divers sets of messengers, one after another, during the night, under pretence of friendly inquiries, they found them so well prepared, that nothing was attempted, and the party returned in safety.

In a subsequent visit to Opecancanough, by whom he formerly was taken prisoner, this prince put on the semblance of friendship, whilst his men lay in ambush with their bows and arrows. The trick being discovered by one of Smith's party, and communicated to him, he resolutely seized the King by his hair, and, holding a pistol to his breast, led him trembling to the ambush, and there, with a torrent of reproachful and menacing words, obliged him to order those very people not only to lay down their arms, but to load him with provisions. After this, they made an attempt to murder him in his sleep, and to poison him; but both failed of success. The chief of Paspaha meeting him alone in the woods, armed only with a sword, attempted to shoot him; but he closed with the savage, and in the struggle both fell into the river, where, after having narrowly escaped drowning, Smith at last prevailed to gripe him by the throat, and would have cut off his head, but the intreaties of the poor victim prevailing on his humanity, he led him prisoner to James-town.

This intrepid behaviour struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what he had often told them, that "his God would protect him against all their power, whilst he kept his promise; which was to preserve peace with them as long as they should refrain from hostilities, and continue to supply him with corn." An incident which occurred about the same time, confirmed their veneration for him.—An Indian having stolen a pistol from James-town, two brothers who were known to be his companions were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in 12 hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon, which was very close, and the vapour had so suffocated the prisoner, that, on the return of his brother at the appointed time, with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if
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they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits and vinegar, he shewed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more. The delirium, being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours sleep; and being dismissed, with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able to bring the dead to life. The effect was, that not only many stolen things were recovered, and the thieves punished, but that peace and friendly intercourse were preserved, and corn brought in as long as they had any, whilst Smith remained in Virginia.

Such was the state of the Virginia colony, when Captain Samuel Argal arrived on a trading voyage, and brought letters from the company in England, complaining of their disappointment, and blaming Smith as the cause of it. They had conceived an ill opinion of him, from the persons whom he had sent home, who represented him as arbitrary and violent toward the colonists, cruel to the savages, and disposed to traverse the views of the adventurers, who expected to grow rich very suddenly.

There was this disadvantage attending the business of colonization in North America, at that day, that the only precedents which could be had were those of the Spaniards, who had treated the natives with extreme cruelty, and amassed vast sums of gold and silver. Whilst the English adventurers detested the means by which the Spaniards had acquired their riches, they still expected that the same kind of riches, might be acquired by other means; it was therefore thought politic, to be gentle in demeanor and lavish of presents toward the natives, as an inducement to them to discover the riches of their country. On these principles the orders of the Virginia Company to their servants were framed. But experience had taught Smith, the most discerning and faithful of all
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whom they had employed, that the country of Virginia would not enrich the adventurers in the time and manner which they expected; yet he was far from abandoning it as worthless; his aim, was thoroughly to explore it, and by exploring, he had discovered what advantages might be derived from it; to produce which, time, patience, expense and labour, were absolutely necessary. He had fairly represented these ideas to his employers, he had spent three years in their service, and from his own observations had drawn and sent them a map of the country, and he had conducted their affairs, as well as the nature of circumstances would permit. He had a disorderly, factious, discontented, disappointed set of men to control, by the help of a few adherents, in the face of the native lords of the soil, formidable in their numbers and knowledge of the country, versed in stratagem, tenacious of resentment, and very jealous of strangers. To court them by presents was to acknowledge their superiority and inflate their pride and insolence. Though savages, they were men and not children. Though destitute of science, they were possessed of reason, and a sufficient degree of art.—To know how to manage them, it was necessary to be personally acquainted with them; and it must be obvious, that a person who had resided several years among them, and had been a prisoner with them, was a much better judge of the proper methods of treating them, than a company of gentlemen at several thousand miles distance, and who could know them only by report. Smith had, certainly, the interest of the plantation at heart, and by toilsome experience, had just learned how to conduct it; when he found himself so obnoxious to his employers, that a plan was concerted to supersede him, and reinstate, with a share of authority, those whom he had dismissed from the service.

The Virginia Company had applied to the King to recal their patent and grant another; in virtue of which they appointed Thomas Lord de la Warre, general; Sir

Thomas Gates, lieutenant general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, marshal; Sir Ferdinando Wainman, general of horse; and Captain Newport (the only one who had seen the country) vice-admiral. The adventurers having, by the alteration of their patent, acquired a reinforcement both of dignity and property, equipped nine ships, in which were embarked 500 persons, men, women and children.—Gates, Somers, and Newport, had each a commission, investing either of them who might first arrive, with power to call in the old and set up the new commission. The fleet sailed from England in May 1609, and by some strange policy, the three commanders were embarked in one ship. This ship being separated from the others in a storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda; another foundered at sea; and when the remaining seven arrived in Virginia, two of which were commanded by Ratcliffe and Archer, they found themselves destitute of authority; though some of them were full enough of prejudice against Smith, who was then in command. The ships had been greatly shattered in their passage, much of their provision was spoiled, many of their people were sick, and the season in which they arrived was not the most favourable to their recovery. A mutinous spirit soon broke out, and a scene of confusion ensued; the new comers would not obey Smith, because they supposed his commission to be superseded; the new commission was not arrived, and it was uncertain whether the ship which carried it would ever be seen or heard of. Smith would gladly have withdrawn and gone back to England, but his honour was concerned in maintaining his authority till he should be regularly superseded; and his spirit would not suffer him to be trampled on by those he despised. Upon due consideration, he determined to maintain his authority as far as he was able, waiting some proper opportunity to retire.—Some of the most insolent of the new comers, “he laid by the heels.” With the more moderate he consulted what was the best to be done; and as a separation

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tion seemed to be the best remedy, and it had been in contemplation to extend the settlements, some were induced to go up to the Falls, others to Nansemond, and others to Point Comfort. Smith's year being almost expired, he offered to resign to Martin, who had been one of the old council, but Martin would not accept the command; he, therefore, kept up the form, and, as much as he could, of the power of government; till an accident which had nearly proved fatal to his life, obliged him to return to England.

On his return from the new plantation at the Falls, sleeping by night in his boat, a bag of gun powder took fire, and burnt him in a most terrible manner.—Awaking in surprise, and finding himself wrapt in flames, he leaped into the water, and was almost drowned, before his companions could recover him.—At his return to James-town, in this distressed condition, Ratcliffe and Archer conspired to murder him in his bed; but the assassin, whom they employed, had not courage to fire a pistol. Smith's old soldiers would have taken off their heads, but he thought it prudent to pass by the offence, and take this opportunity, as there was no surgeon in the country, of returning to England. As soon as his intention was known, the council appointed Mr. Percie to preside in his room, and detained the ship three weeks, till they could write letters, and frame complaints against him. He at length sailed for England, about the latter end of September 1609, much regretted by his friends, one of whom has left this character of him. "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any danger. He never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers; and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never see us want what he had, or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow; or starve, than not pay. He loved action more than words; and hated covetousness and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives, and his loss our deaths."

There needs no better testimony to the truth of this character, than what is related of the miserable colony after he had quitted it. Without government, without prudence, careless, indolent, and factious, they became a prey to the insolence of the natives, to the diseases of the climate, and to famine. Within six months their number was reduced from 500 to 60; and when the three commanders, who had been wrecked on Bermuda, arrived (1610) with 150 men in two small vessels, which they had built out of the ruins of their ship, and the cedars which grew on the island, they found the remnant of the colony in such a forlorn condition, that without hesitation, they determined to abandon the country, and were sailing down the river, when they met a boat from the Lord de la Warre, who had come with a fleet to their relief. By his persuasion, they resumed the plantation, and to this fortunate incident, may be ascribed the full establishment of the colony of Virginia.

Such a genius as Smith's could not remain idle. He was well known in England, and the report of his valour, and his spirit of adventure, pointed him out to a number of merchants, who were engaged in the American fishery, as a proper person to make discoveries on the coast of North Virginia, to take whales, examine a mine of gold, and another of copper, which were said to be there, but which were never found.

At Smith's return to England, he put in at Plymouth, where, relating his adventures, and communicating his sentiments to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he was introduced to the Plymouth Company of adventurers to North Virginia, and engaged in their service. At London he was invited by the South Virginia Company to return their service, but made use of his engagement with the Plymouth adventurers as an excuse for declining their invitation. From this circumstance it seems, that they had been convinced of his former fidelity, notwithstanding the letters and reports which they had formerly received to his disadvantage.

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During his stay in London, he had the very singular pleasure of seeing his friend Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. Having been made a prisoner in Virginia, she was there married to Mr. John Rolfe, and by him was brought to England. She was then about 22 years of age ; her person was graceful, and her deportment gentle and pleasing. She had been taught the English language and the Christian religion, and baptized by the name of Rebecca. She had heard that Smith was dead, and knew nothing to the contrary, till she arrived in England.

The fame of an Indian princess excited great curiosity in London, and Smith had the address to write a handsome letter to the Queen, setting forth the merits of his friend, and the eminent services she had done to him and the colony of Virginia. She was introduced by the Lady De la Warre ; the Queen and royal family received her with complacency, and she proved herself worthy of their notice and respect. At her first interview with Smith she called him father ; and because he did not immediately return the salutation and call her child, she was so overcome with grief, that she hid her face and would not speak for some time. She was ignorant of the ridiculous affectation which reigned in the court of James, which forbade Smith assuming the title of father to the daughter of a King ! and when informed of it she despised it, passionately declaring that she loved him as a father, and had treated him as such in her own country, and would be his child wherever she went. The same pedantic affectation caused her husband to be looked upon as an offender, for having, though a subject, invaded the mysterious rights of royalty in marrying above his rank !—This marriage, however, proved beneficial to the colony, as her father had thereby become a friend to them, and when she came to England, he sent with her Uttamaccomac, one of his trusty counsellors, whom he enjoined to inquire for Smith, and tell him whether he was alive. Another order which he gave him was, to bring him the number of
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people in England ; accordingly on his landing at Plymouth, the obedient savage began his account by cutting a notch on a long stick for every person whom he saw, but soon grew tired of his employment, and at his return told Powhatan that they exceeded the number of leaves on the trees. A third command from his Prince was, to see the God of England, and the King, Queen, and Princes, of whom Smith had told him so much ; and when he met with Smith, he desired to be introduced to those personages. He had before this seen the King, but would not believe it, because the person whom they pointed out to him had not given him any thing. " You gave Powhatan (said he to Smith) a white dog, but your King has given me nothing." Mr. Rolfe was preparing to return with his wife to Virginia, when she was taken ill and died at Gravesend, leaving an infant son, Thomas Rolfe, from whom are descended several families of note in Virginia, who hold their lands by inheritance from her.

When the news of the massacre of the Virginian planters by the Indians, 1622, arrived in England, Smith was all on fire to go over to revenge the insult. He made an offer to the company, that if they would allow him 100 soldiers and 50 sailors, with the necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country, keep the natives in awe, protect the planters, and make discoveries of the hitherto unknown parts of America ; and for his own risque and pains would desire nothing but what he would " produce from the proper labour of the savages." On this proposal the company was divided, but the pusillanimous and avaricious party prevailed ; and gave him this answer, " that the charges would be too great, that their stock was reduced, that the planters ought to defend themselves ; but, that if he would go at his own expence, they would give him leave, provided he would give them one half of the pillage." Such an answer could be received only with contempt.

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When the King in 1624, instituted a commission for the reformation of Virginia, Smith, by desire of the commissioners, gave in a relation of his former proceedings in the colony, and his opinion and advice respecting the proper methods of remedying the defects in government, and carrying on the plantation with a prospect of success. These with many other papers he collected and published, in 1627, in a thin folio, under the title of, "The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles." The narrative part is made up of journals and letters of those who were concerned with him in the plantation, intermixed with his own observations.

In 1629, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, he published a history of the early part of his life, entitled, "The true Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Capt. John Smith." This work is preserved intire, in the second volume of Churchill's collections, and from it, the former part of this account is compiled. In the conclusion he made some addition to the history of Virginia, Bermuda, New England, and the West Indies, respecting things which had come to his knowledge after the publication of his general history. He stated the inhabitants of Virginia in 1628 at 5000, and their cattle at the same number. Their produce was chiefly tobacco; but those few who attended to their gardens had all sorts of fruit and vegetables in great abundance and perfection. From New England they received salted fish; but of fresh fish their own rivers produced enough, beside an infinite quantity of fowl, as their woods did of deer and other game. They had two brew houses; but they cultivated the Indian corn, in preference to the European grain. Their plantations were scattered; some of their houses were palisaded; but they had no fortifications nor ordnance mounted.

This was probably his last publication, for he lived but two years after. By a note in Josselyn's voyage, it appears that he died in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age.

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It would give give singular pleasure to the compiler of these memoirs, if he could learn from any credible testimony, that Smith ever received any recompence for his numerous services. The sense which he had of this matter, in 1627, shall be given in his own words. "I have spent five years, and more than 500 pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries shared before me by those who knew them only by my descriptions."

JOHN ROBINSON.

THE first effectual settlements of the English in New-England were made by those, who, after the Reformation, dissented from the Episcopal Church, who suffered on account of their dissent, and sought an asylum from their sufferings. Uniformity was insisted on with such rigour, as disgusted many conscientious ministers and people of the Church of England, and caused that separation which has ever since subsisted. Those who would not conform to the establishment, but wished for a more complete reformation, were at first distinguished by the name of *Puritans*; and among these the most rigid were the *Brownists*, so called from Robert Brown, "a fiery young clergyman," who in 1580, headed a zealous party, and was vehement for a total separation. But his zeal, however violent, was void of consistency, for in his advanced years he conformed to the Church; whilst others, who more deliberately withdrew, retained their separation, tho' they became more candid and moderate in their principles. Of these people a Congregation was formed, about the year 1602, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln;

coln; who chose for their ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson.

Mr. Robinson was born in the year 1575, but the place of his birth is unknown. He was probably educated in the University of Cambridge; and he is said to have been "a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit; pious and studious of the truth; largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over the flock of Christ." Before his election to this office, he had a benefice, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk, where his friends were frequently molested by the Bishop's officers, and some were almost ruined by prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts.

The reigning prince, at that time, was James I. than whom a more contemptible character never sat on the British throne. Educated in the principles of Presbyterianism, in Scotland, he forgot them on his advancement to the throne of the three kingdoms.— Flattered by the Bishops, he gave all ecclesiastical power into their hands, and entrusted sycophants with the management of the State; whilst he indolently resigned himself to literary and sensual indulgencies; in the former of which he was a pedant, in the latter an epicure. The prosecution of the Puritans was conducted with unrelenting severity in the former part of his reign, when Bancroft was Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot who succeeded him was more favourable to them, but when Laud came into power, they were treated with every mark of insult and cruelty.

Robinson's congregation did not escape persecution by separating from the establishment, and forming an independent church. Still exposed to the penalties of the ecclesiastical law, they were extremely harrassed: some were thrown into prison, some were confined to their own houses, others were obliged to leave their farms, and suspend their usual occupations. Such was their distress and perplexity, that an emigration to some foreign country seemed the only means of safety

safety. Their first views were directed to Holland, where the spirit of commerce had dictated a free toleration of religious opinions; a blessing, which neither the wisdom of politicians, nor the charity of clergymen, had admitted into any other of the European states. But, the ports of their own country were shut against them; they could get away only by seeking concealment, and giving extravagant rates for their passages, and fees to the mariners.

In the autumn of 1607, a company of these Dissenters hired a ship at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in order to carry them to Holland. The Master promised to be ready at a certain hour of the day, to take them on board, with their families and effects. They assembled at the place, but he disappointed them. Afterward he came in the night, and when they were embarked, betrayed them into the hands of searchers and other officers, who, having robbed them of money, books, and other articles, and treated the women with indecency, carried them back into the town, and exposed them as a laughing spectacle to the multitude. They were arraigned before the magistrates, who used them with civility, but could not release them without an order from the King and Council. Till this arrived, they suffered a month's imprisonment, seven were bound over to the assize, and the others were released.

The next spring (1608), they made another attempt and hired a Dutch vessel, then lying in the harbour, to take them on board. The place agreed on was an unfrequented common, between Hull and Grimsby, remote from any houses. The women and children, with the baggage, were sent down the river in a small bark, and the men agreed to meet them by land; but they came to the place a day before the ship arrived. The water being rough, and the women sick, they prevailed on the pilot of the bark to put into a small creek, where they lay aground, when the Dutchman came and took one boat-load of the men on board. Before he could send for the others, a company of
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armed men appeared on horseback, which so frightened him, that he weighed anchor, and the wind being fair, put to sea. Some of the men who were left behind, made their escape; others, who went to the assistance of the women, were, with them, apprehended, and carried from one Justice of the Peace to another; but the Justices, not knowing what to do with so many helpless and distressed persons, dismissed them. Having sold their houses, cattle and furniture, they had no homes to which they could retire, and were, therefore, cast on the charity of their friends. Those who were hurried to sea without their families, and destitute even of a change of clothes, endured a terrible storm, in which neither sun, moon nor stars appeared for seven days. This storm drove them to the northward, and they very narrowly escaped foundering. After 14 days they arrived at Amsterdam, where the people were surprized at their deliverance, the tempest having been very severe, and much damage having been sustained both at sea and in the harbours of the continent.

This forlorn company of emigrants were soon after joined by their wives and families. The remainder of the Church went over in the following summer; Mr. Robinson, with a few others, remained to help the weakest, till they were all embarked.

At Amsterdam, they found a congregation of their countrymen, who had the same religious views, and had emigrated before them. Their minister was John Smith, a man of good abilities, and a popular preacher, but unsteady in his opinions. These people fell into controversy, and were soon scattered. Fearing that the infection might spread, Robinson proposed to his church a further removal, to which, tho' much to their disadvantage in a temporal view, they consented, and after one year spent at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden, where they continued 11 years. During this time, their number so increased by frequent emigrations from England, that they had in the church 300 communicants.

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At Leyden they enjoyed much harmony among themselves, and a friendly intercourse with the Dutch, who, observing their diligence and fidelity in their business, entertained so great a respect for them, that the magistrates of the city (1619), in the seat of Justice, having occasion to censure some of the French Protestants, who had a church there, made this public declaration, "These English have lived among us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them, but your quarrels are continual."

Having enjoyed their liberty in Holland eight or nine years, in which time they had become acquainted with the country and the manners of its inhabitants, they began to think of another removal (1617.) The question then was, to what part of the world should they remove, where they might expect freedom from the burdens under which they had formerly groaned, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which they had lately enjoyed.

The Dutch merchants, being apprized of their discontent, made them large offers, if they would go to some of their foreign plantations; but their attachment to the English nation and government was invincible. Sir Walter Raleigh had, about this time, raised the fame of Guiana, a rich and fertile country of America between the tropics, blessed with a perpetual spring, and productive of every thing which could satisfy the wants of man with little labour. To this country the views of some of the most sanguine were directed; but considering that in such warm climates, diseases were generated, which often proved fatal to European constitutions, and that their nearest neighbours would be the Spaniards, who, tho' they had not actually occupied the country, yet claimed it as their own, and might easily dispossess them, as they had the French of Florida; the major part disapproved of this proposal.

They then turned their thoughts toward that part of America, comprehended under the general name of *Virginia*. There, if they should join the Colony
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already established, they must submit to the government of the Church of England. If they should attempt a new plantation, the horrors of a wilderness, and the cruelties of its savage inhabitants were presented to their view. It was answered, that the Dutch had begun to plant within these limits, and were unmolested; that all great undertakings were attended with difficulties; but that the danger did not render the enterprize desperate; that should they remain in Holland, they were not free from danger, as a truce between the United Provinces and Spain, which had subsisted twelve years had nearly expired, and preparations were making to renew the war; that the Spaniards, if successful, might prove as cruel as the savages; and that liberty, both civil and religious, was altogether precarious in Europe. These considerations determined their views toward the uninhabited part of North America, claimed by their native prince as part of his dominions; and their hope was, that by emigrating thither, they might make way for the propagation of the Christian religion in a heathen land, though (to use a phrase of their own) "they should be but as stepping stones to others," who might come after them.

These things were first debated in private, and afterward proposed to the whole Congregation, who after mature deliberation, and a devout address to Heaven, determined to make application to the Virginia Company in London, and to enquire "whether King James would grant them liberty of conscience in his American dominions?" John Carver and Robert Cushman were appointed their agents on this occasion, and letters were writren by Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, their ruling elder, in the name of the Congregation, to Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir John Worstenholm two principal members of the Virginia Company.

In those letters they recommended themselves as proper persons for emigration, because they were "weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so inured to the difficulties of a strange land, that

that no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home; they had acquired habits of frugality and self-denial; and were united in a solemn covenant by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole Company, and of every individual person." They also gave a succinct and candid account of their religious principles and practices, for the information of the King and his Council.

The answer was such as they might expect. The Company promised them as ample privileges as were in their power to grant. It was thought prudent not to deliver their letter to the King and Council; but application was made to Sir Robert Norton, Secretary of State, who employed his interest with Archbishop Abbot, and by means of his mediation, "the King promised to connive at their religious practices;" but he denied them toleration under the great seal. With this answer, and some private encouragement, the agents returned to Holland.

It was impossible for them to transport themselves to America, without assistance from the merchant adventurers in England. Further agency and agreements were necessary. The dissensions in the Virginia Company were tedious and violent; and it was not till after two whole years, that all the necessary provisions and arrangements could be made for their voyage.

In the beginning of 1620, they kept a solemn day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson delivered a discourse from 1 Samuel xxiii. 3, 4; in which he endeavoured to remove their doubts, and confirm their resolutions. It had been previously determined, that a part of them should go to America, and prepare the way for the others; and that if a major part should consent to go, the Pastor should go with them, otherwise, he should remain in Holland. It was found, on examination, that tho' a major part of them was willing to go, yet they could not all get ready in season; therefore the greater number being obliged to stay, they required Mr. Robinson to stay with them.

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In July, they kept another day of prayer, when Mr Robinson preached to them from Ezra viii. 21, and concluded his discourse with an exhortation, which breathes a noble spirit of christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous, because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the reformed ministers and churches of that day.

On the 21st of July, the intended passengers quitted Leyden, to embark at Delf-haven, to which place they were accompanied by many of their brethren and friends, several of whom had come from Amsterdam to take their leave of them. The evening was spent till very late, in friendly conversation; and the next morning the wind being fair, they went on board; where Mr. Robinson, on his knees, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, again committed them to their divine Protector, and with many tears they parted.

After their arrival in New England, he kept up a friendly correspondence with them; and when any of them went to Europe they were received by him with the most cordial welcome. The difficulties which then attended a voyage across the Atlantic, the expence of an equipment for a new colony, and the hardships necessarily incident to a plantation in a distant wilderness, proved a burden almost too great for those who came over. They had a hard struggle to support themselves here, and pay the debts which they had contracted in England; whilst those who remained in Holland, were in general too poor to bear the expence of a removal to America, without the help of their brethren who had come before them. These things prevented Mr. Robinson from gratifying his earnest desire to visit his American brethren, and their equally ardent wish to see him till he was removed by death to a better country.

This event proved the dissolution of the church over which he had presided at Leyden. Some of them

removed to Ameterdam, some to other parts of the Netherlands, and others came to New England, among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to the age of ninety, and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

GEORGE CALVERT, &c.

GEORGE CALVERT was descended from a noble family of Flanders, and born at Kipling in Yorkshire (1582). He received his education at Trinity College in Oxford, and, after taking his Bachelor's degree (1597), travelled over the continent of Europe. At his return to England, in the beginning of the reign of James I. he was taken into the office of Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, and when Sir Robert was advanced to be Lord High Treasurer, he retained Calvert in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters of state.

By the interest of Sir Robert, then Earl of Salisbury, he was appointed one of the Clerks of the Council, and received the honour of knighthood (1617), and in the following year was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake. Conceiving the Duke of Buckingham to have been instrumental of his preferment, he presented him with a jewel of great value; but the Duke returned it, with a message, that he owed his advancement to his own merit and the good pleasure of his Sovereign, who was fully sensible of it. His great knowledge of public business, and his diligence and fidelity in conducting it, had rendered him very acceptable to the King, who granted him a pension of 1000*l.* out of the customs.

In 1624, he consientiously became a Roman Catholic, and having freely owned his principles to the King, resigned his office. This ingenuous confession

so affected the mind of James, that he not only continued him on the list of Privy Counsellors, but created him Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Cork in Ireland.

Whilst he was Secretary of State and one of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, he obtained from the King, a patent for the south-eastern peninsula of Newfoundland, which he named the Province of *Avalon*, from Avalonius, a Monk, who was supposed to have converted the British King Lucius, and all his Court to Christianity, in remembrance of which event, the Abbey of Glastonbury was founded at Avalon in Somersetshire. Sir George gave his province this name, imagining it would be the first place in North America where the gospel would be preached.

At Ferryland, in his province of Avalon, he built a fine house, and spent 25,000*l.* in advancing his plantation, which he visited twice in person. But it was so annoyed by the French, that, tho' he once repulsed and pursued their ships, and took 60 prisoners, yet he found his province so much exposed to their insults, and the trouble and expence of defending it so very great, that he was obliged to abandon it, and be content with the loss of what he had laid out in the improvement of a territory, the soil and climate of which were considered as unfavourable to his views.

Being still inclined to form a settlement in America, whither he might retire with his family, and friends of the same religious principles, he made a visit to Virginia, the fertility and advantages of which had been highly celebrated, and in which he had been interested, as one of the adventurers. But the people there, being Protestants of the Church of England, regarded him with a jealous eye, on account of his religion, and by their unwelcome reception of him, he was discouraged from settling within their jurisdiction.

In visiting the bay of Chesapeak, he observed that the Virginians had established trading houses on some of the islands, but that they had not extended their

plantations to the northward of the river Potowmack, altho' the country there was equally valuable with that which they had planted.

When he returned to England, he applied to King Charles I. for the grant of a territory northward of the Potowmack; and the King, who had as great an affection for him as had his father James, readily complied with his request. But owing to the tedious forms of public business, before a patent could be completed and pass the seals, Lord Baltimore died at London on the 15th of April, 1632, in the 51st year of his age.

After the death of Sir George, the patent was drawn in the name of his eldest son Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals on the 28th of June, 1632. The original draught being in Latin, the patentee is called *Cecilius*, and the country "*Terra Mariae, alias Maryland*," in honour of Henrietta Maria, the Queen consort of Charles I.*

From the great precision of this Charter, the powers which it gives to the proprietor, and the privileges and exemptions which it grants to the people, it is evident that Sir George himself was the chief penman of it. One omission was soon discovered; no provision was made, that the laws should be transmitted to the Sovereign for his approbation or disallowance. The Commissioners of Trade and Plantations made a representation of this defect to the House of Commons, in 1633, and an act of Parliament was proposed as the only remedy.

The province of Maryland is thus described: "All that part of a peninsula in America, lying between the ocean on the east and Bay of Chesapeak on the west

* Ogilby says, that a blank was left for the name of the territory, which Lord Baltimore intended to have filled with *Crescentia*—but when the King asked him for a name, he complaisantly referred it to his Majesty's pleasure, who proposed the name of the Queen, to which his Lordship could not but consent.—He also says, that the second Lord Baltimore was christened *Cecil*, in honour of his father's patron, but was confirmed by the name of *Cecilius*.

west, and divided from the other part, by a right line drawn from Watkin's Point, in the aforesaid bay, on the west, to the main ocean on the east. Thence to that part of Delaware Bay on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New-England ends. Thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountains of the river Potowinack. Thence following the course of said river to its mouth, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake. Thence on a right line, across the bay to Watkin's Point; with all the islands and islets within these limits."

This region was erected into a Province, and the proprietor was invested with palatine honours. In conjunction with the freemen or their delegates he had legislative, and, in person, or by officers of his own appointment, he had executive powers. He had also the advowson of churches, the erection of manors, boroughs, cities and ports; saving the liberty of fishing and drying fish which was declared common to all the King's subjects. The Charter provided, that if any doubts should arise concerning the sense of it, such an interpretation should be given as would be most favourable to the interest of the proprietor.

The territory is said to be "in the parts of America not yet cultivated, tho' inhabited by a barbarous people," and it is provided, that the Province "should not be holden nor reputed as part of Virginia, or of any other Colony, but immediately dependant on the Crown of England." These clauses together with the construction put on the 40th degree of latitude, proved the ground of long and bitter controversies, one of which was not closed till after the lapse of a century.

After receiving the Charter, Lord Baltimore began to prepare for the collecting and transporting a colony to America. At first, he intended to go in person, but afterward changed his mind, and appointed his brother Leonard Calvert, Governor, with two assistants Jeremy Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. These, with about 200 persons of good families and of the Ro-

man Catholic persuasion embarked at Cowes in the Isle of Wight, on the 22nd of November, 1633, and after a circuitous voyage thro' the West Indian islands, touching first Barbadoes and then at St. Christopher's, they came to anchor before Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the 24th of February, 1634; and, going up to James-town, delivered to Governor Harvey the letters which the King had written in their favour. The Governor and his Council received them with that civility which was due to the command of their Sovereign, but they resolved "to maintain the rights of the prior settlement." They afforded to the New Colony supplies of provision for domestic use; but considered them as intruders on their territory, and as obstructing that traffic, from which they had derived or expected to derive much advantage.

On the 3d of March, Calvert with his Colony proceeded in the Bay of Chesapeak, to the northward, and entered the Potowmack, up which he sailed 12 leagues, and came to anchor under an island, which he named *St. Clement*. Here he fired his cannon, erected a cross, and took possession, "in the name of the Saviour of the world and the King of England." Thence he went with his pinnaces 15 leagues higher to the Indian town of Potowmack, on the Virginian side of the river, now called New-Marlborough, where he was received in a friendly manner by the Guardian Regent, the prince of the country being a minor. Thence he sailed 12 leagues farther, to the town of Piscataway, on the Maryland side; where he found Henry Fleet, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem. He procured an interview between Calvert and the Werowance or Lord of the place, and officiated as their interpreter. Calvert, determining to pursue a course of conduct founded on pacific and honourable intentions, asked the Werowance, whether he was willing that he and his people should settle in his country? His answer was short and prudent: "I will not bid you to go, nor to stay; but you may use
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your own discretion." This interview was held on board the Governor's pinnace; the natives on the shore crowded to the water's edge, to look after their Sovereign, and were not satisfied of his safety, till he stood up and showed himself to them.

Having made this discovery of the river, and convinced the natives that his designs were amicable, the Governor, not thinking it adviseable to make his first settlement so high up the river, sailed down to the ships, taking Fleet with him for a guide. The natives, who, when they first saw the ships and heard the guns, had fled from St Clement's Island and its neighbourhood, returned to their habitations and seemed to repose confidence in their new friends; but this was not deemed a proper station. Under the conduct of Fleet, the Governor visited a creek on the northern side of the Potowmack about four leagues from its mouth, where was an Indian village, surrounded by corn-fields, and called Yoacomaco. Calvert went on shore, and acquainted the Prince of the place with his intention, who was rather reserved in his answer, but entertained him in a friendly manner, and gave him a lodging in his own bed.

On the next day, he shewed Calvert the country, which pleased him so well, that he determined there to fix his abode, and treated with the Prince about purchasing the place. Calvert presented him and his principal men with English cloth, axes, hoes and knives; and they consented that their new friends should reside in one part of their town, and themselves in the other part, till the next harvest, when they promised to quit the place, and resign it wholly to them. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner; or, if any injury should be done on either side, the offending party should make satisfaction. Calvert having given them what he deemed a valuable consideration, with which they appeared to be content, they readily quitted a number of their houses, and retired to the others; and it being the season for planting, both parties went to work. Thus, on the 27th of March, 1634, the English colony

lony took peaceable possession of the country of *Maryland*, and gave to the town the name of *St. Mary*, and to the creek, on which it was situated, the name of *St. George*.

The desire of quieting the natives, by giving them a reasonable and satisfactory compensation for their lands, is a trait in the character of the first planters which will always do honour to their memory.

It was a fortunate circumstance for these adventurers, that, previous to their arrival, the Indians of *Yocomaco* had resolved to quit their country, and retire to the westward, that they might be free from the incursions of the *Susquehanoeks*, a powerful and warlike nation, residing between the Bays of *Chesapeake* and *Delaware*, who frequently invaded them, and carried off their provisions and women. Some had actually removed, and the others were preparing to follow, but were encouraged to remain another season, by the presence of the English. They lived on friendly terms with the colony, the men assisted them in hunting and fishing, the women taught them to manage the planting and culture of corn, and the making it into bread, and they were compensated for their labour and kindness in such tools and trinkets as were pleasing to them. According to their promise, they quitted the place wholly in the following year, and the colony had full and quiet possession.

The colony had brought with them English meal, but they found Indian corn in great plenty both at *Barbadoes* and *Virginia*; and by the next spring they were able to export 1000 bushels to *New England* and *Newfoundland*, for which they received dried fish and other provisions in return. They procured cattle, swine and poultry from *Virginia*. They were very industrious in building houses and making gardens, in which they sowed the seeds of European esculent vegetables, and had the pleasure to see them come to high perfection. They suffered much in their health by the fever and ague, and many of them died; but, when the survivors were seasoned to the climate, and had learned the

use of indigenous medicinal remedies, they enjoyed their health much better. The country had so many natural advantages, that it soon became populous. Many Roman Catholic families from England resorted thither, and the proprietor, with a degree of wisdom and generosity then unparalleled but in Holland, after having established the *Christian* religion upon the footing of common law, granted liberty of conscience and equal privileges to Christians of every denomination. With this essential benefit was connected security of property; lands were given, in lots of 50 acres, to every emigrant, in absolute fee simple. Under such advantages, the people thought themselves so happy, that, in an early period of their colonial existence, they, in return, granted to the proprietor a subsidy of 15 pounds of tobacco on every poll, "as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for reimbursing his vast expence," which, during the two first years, exceeded 40,000*l.* sterling.

WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania was the grandson of Captain Giles Penn, an English Consul in the Mediterranean, and the son of Sir William Penn, an Admiral of the English navy, in the Protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II. in which offices he rendered very important services to the nation, particularly by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and in a naval victory over the Dutch. William was born October 14, 1644, in the parish of St. Catherine, near the tower of London, educated at Chigwell, in Essex, and at a private school in London; and, in the 15th year of his age, entered as a student and gentleman commoner of Christ-Church College in Oxford.

His genius was bright, his disposition sober and studious, and being possessed of a lively imagination and a warm heart, the first turn of his mind toward religious subjects was attended with circumstances bordering on enthusiasm. Having received his first impressions from the preaching of Thomas Loe, an itinerant Quaker, he conceived a favourable opinion of "the flights and refinements of that rising sect," which led him, while at the University, in conjunction with some other students, to withdraw from the established worship, and hold a private meeting, where they preached and prayed in their own way. The discipline of the University being very strict in such matters, he was fined for "the sin of nonconformity;" this served to fix him more firmly in his principles and habits, and exposed his singularity more openly to the world. His conduct being then deemed obstinate, he was, in the 16th year of his age, expelled, as an incorrigible offender against the laws of uniformity!

On his return home, he found his father highly incensed against him. As neither remonstrances, nor threatenings, nor blows, could divest him of his religious attachments, he was, for a while, turned out of the house; but by the influence of his mother, he was so far restored to favour as to be sent to France, in company with some persons of quality, with a view to unbend his mind, and refine his manners. Here he learned the language of the country, and acquired such a polite and courtly behaviour, that his father, after two years absence, received him with joy, hoping that the object of his wishes was attained. He was then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, where he studied law till the plague broke out in 1665, when he returned to his father's house.

About this time (1666) the King's coffers being low, and claims for unrewarded services being importunate, grants were frequently made of lands in Ireland; and the merits of Sir William Penn being not the least conspicuous, he received a valuable estate in the county of Cork, and committed the management of
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it to his son, then in the 22nd year of his age. Here he met with his old friend Loe, and immediately attached himself to the society of Quakers, tho' at that time they were subject to severe persecution. This might have operated as a discouragement to a young gentleman of such quality and expectations, especially as he exposed himself thereby to the renewed displeasure of a parent who loved him, had not the integrity and fervor of his mind induced him to sacrifice all worldly considerations to the dictates of his conscience.

It was not long before he was apprehended at a religious conventicle, and, with 18 others, committed to prison by the Mayor of Cork; but upon his writing a handsome address to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, in which he very sensibly pleaded for liberty of conscience, and professed his desire of a peaceable, and his abhorrence of a tumultuous and disrespectful separation from the established worship, he was discharged. This second stroke of persecution engaged him more closely to the Quakers: He associated openly with them, and bore with calmness and patience, the cruel abuse which was liberally bestowed on that singular party.

His father being informed of his conduct, remanded him home; and tho' now William's age forbade his trying the force of that species of discipline, to which, as a naval commander, he had been accustomed, yet he plied him with those arguments, which it was natural for a man of the world to use, and which, to such an one, would have been prevailing. The principal one was a threatening to disinherit him; and to this he humbly submitted, tho' he could by no means be persuaded to take off his hat in presence of the King, the Duke of York, or his father. For this inflexibility he was again turned out of doors; upon which he commenced an itinerant preacher, and had much success in making proselytes. In these excursions, the opposition which he met with from the clergy and the magistracy, frequently brought him into difficulties,

and sometimes to imprisonment; but his integrity was so manifest, and his patience so invincible, that his father, at length, became softened toward him, and not only exerted his interest to release him from confinement, but winked at his return to the family whenever it suited his conveniency. His mother was always his friend, and often supplied his necessities without the knowledge of the father.

In the year 1668, he commenced author, and, having written a book, entitled "The sandy foundation shaken," which gave great offence to the *spiritual Lords*, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and the visits of his friends were forbidden. But his adversaries found him proof against all their efforts to subdue him; for a message being brought to him by the Bishop of London, that he must either publicly recant, or die a prisoner, his answer was, "My prison shall be my grave. I owe my conscience to no man. They are mistaken in me; I value not their threats. They shall know that I can weary out their malice, and baffle all their designs, by the spirit of patience." During this confinement he wrote his famous book, "No Cross, no Crown;" and another, "Innocency with her open face," in which he explained and vindicated the principles which he had advanced in the book for which he was imprisoned. This, with a letter which he wrote to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, aided by the interest which his father had at Court, procured his release, after seven months' confinement.

Soon after this, he made another visit to Ireland, to settle his father's concerns, in which he exerted himself with great industry and success. Here he constantly appeared at the meetings of the Quakers, and not only officiated as a preacher, but used his interest with the Lord Lieutenant, and others of the nobility, to procure indulgence for them, and to get some of them released from their imprisonment.

In 1670, an act of Parliament was made, which prohibited the meetings of Dissenters under severe penalties. The Quakers being forcibly debarred entering their meeting house in Grace-Church-street, London,

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assembled before it in the street, where Penn preached to a numerous concourse, and being apprehended on the spot by a warrant from the Lord Mayor, was committed to Newgate, and at the next session, took his trial at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded his own cause with the freedom of an Englishman and the magnanimity of a hero. The jury at first brought in their verdict "guilty of *speaking* in Grace-Church-street;" but this being unsatisfactory to the Court, they were detained all night, and the next day returned a verdict "not guilty." The Court were highly incensed against them, fined them forty marks, each, and imprisoned them along with Penn, till their fines and fees were paid. An expression which dropped from the Recorder on this trial, rendered the cause of the Quakers popular, and their persecutors odious: "It will never be well with us (said the infamous Sir John Howel) till something like the Spanish inquisition be established in England." The triumph of Penn was complete: being acquitted by his peers, he was released from prison, on the payment of his fees, and returned to the zealous exercise of his ministry.

His conduct under this prosecution did him great honour. His father became perfectly reconciled to him, and soon after died,* leaving his paternal blessing and a plentiful estate. This accession of fortune made no alteration in his manners or habits: He continued to preach, to write, and to travel as before; and, within a few months afterwards, was taken up again for preaching in the street, and carried to the Tower, from whence after a long examination he was sent to Newgate, and being discharged without any trial

* The dying advice of his father deserves to be remembered.—"Three things I commend to you: 1. Let nothing tempt you to wrong your conscience; if you keep peace at home, it will be a feast to you in the day of trouble. 2. Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably, for that gives security and dispatch. 3. Be not troubled at disappointments; if they may be recovered, do it; if not, trouble is vain—These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort thro' this inconstant world."—*No Cross No Crown*.

trial at the end of nine months, he went over to Holland and Germany, where he continued travelling and preaching, till the King published his "declaration of indulgence to tender consciences;" upon which he returned to England, married a daughter of Sir William Springet, and settled at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire; where he pursued his studies, and multiplied his controversial writings for about five years.

In 1677, he "had a drawing" to renew his travels in Holland and Germany, in company with Fox, Barclay, Keith, and several others of his brethren. On his return to England, he found his friends suffering by the operation of a law made against Papists, the edge of which was unjustly turned against them. The law required a certain oath to be tendered to those who were suspected of Popery, and because the Quakers denied the lawfulness of oaths, in any case whatever, they were obliged to bear the penalty annexed to the refusal of this oath, which was no less than a fine of 20*l.* per month, or two-thirds of their estate!—By Penn's advice, they petitioned the Parliament for redress of this grievance, and after explaining the reason of their declining the oath, offered to give their word to the same purport, and to submit to the penalty, "if they should be found faulty." Penn had a hearing before a committee of Parliament, when he pleaded the cause of his friends and of himself, in a sensible, decent, convincing manner, and what he said had so much weight, that the committee agreed to insert in a bill, then pending, a proviso for their relief. The bill passed the Commons, but before it could be got thro' the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament.

We have hitherto viewed Mr. Penn as a Christian and a preacher, and he appears to have been honest, zealous, and industrious in the concerns of religion—We shall now view him in the character of a Legislator, in which respect his learning, his sufferings, his acquaintance with mankind, and his genuine liberality,

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were of great use to him. Among his various studies, he had not omitted to acquaint himself with the principles of law and government; and he had more especial inducements to this, from the prosecutions and arrests which he frequently suffered, into the legality of which it was natural for him to inquire. He had observed in his travels abroad, as well as in his acquaintance at home, the workings of arbitrary power, and the mischiefs of usurpation; and he had studied the whole controversy between regal and popular claims: the result of which was, "that government must be founded on justice, and exercised with moderation."

It has been observed that his father, Sir William Penn, had merited much by his services in the English navy. There were also certain debts due to him from the Crown, at the time of his death, which the royal treasurers were poorly able to discharge. His son, after much solicitation, found no prospect of getting his due in the common mode of payment, and therefore turned his thoughts toward obtaining a grant of land in America, on which he might make the experiment of settling a Colony, and establishing a government suited to his own principles and views.

Mr. Penn had been concerned with several other Quakers in purchasing of Lord Berkeley, his patent of West-Jersey, to make a settlement for their persecuted brethren in England, many of whom transported themselves thither, in hope of an exemption from the troubles which they had endured, from the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters. But they found themselves subject to the arbitrary impositions of Sir Edmund Andros, who governed the Duke of York's territory, and exercised jurisdiction over all the settlements on both sides of the Delaware. Penn and his associates remonstrated against his conduct, but their efforts proved ineffectual. However, the concern which Penn had in this purchase gave him not only a taste for speculating in land, but a knowledge of the American coasts; and being desirous of acquiring a separate estate, where he might real-

ize his sanguine wishes, he had great advantage in making inquiry and determining on a place.

Having examined all the former grants to the companies of Virginia and New-England, the Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York, he fixed upon a territory bounded on the east by the bay and river of Delaware, extending southward to Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland, westward as far as the western extent of Maryland, and northward "as far as plantable." For this he petitioned the King, and being examined before the Privy Council, on the 14th of June concerning those words of his petition, "as far as plantable, (he declared) that he should be satisfied with the extent of three degrees of latitude; and that in lieu of such a grant, he was willing to remit his debt from the Crown, or some part of it, and to stay for the remainder, till his Majesty should be in a better condition to satisfy it."

Notice of this application was given to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, and inquiry was made, how far the pretensions of Penn might consist with the grants already made to them. The peninsula between the bays of Chesapeak and Delaware had been planted by detached companies of Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch and English. It was, first by force, and afterwards by treaty, brought under the dominion of the Crown of England. That part of it which bordered on the Delaware was within the Duke of York's patent, while that which joined on the Chesapeak was within the grant to Lord Baltimore.

The Duke's agent consented that Penn should have the land west of Delaware and north of Newcastle "in consideration of the reason he had to expect favour from his Majesty." Lord Baltimore's agent petitioned that Penn's grant might be expressed to lie north of Susquehannah fort, and of a line drawn east and west from it, and that he might not be allowed to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians. To these restrictions Penn had no objection.

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The Charter, consisting of 23 sections, "penned with all the appearance of candour and simplicity," was signed and sealed by King Charles II. on the 4th of March, 1681. It constitutes William Penn, and his heirs, true and absolute proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, saving to the Crown their allegiance and the sovereignty.

The Charter being obtained, he found himself authorized, to agree with such persons as were disposed to be adventurers to his new province. By a public advertisement, he invited purchasers, and described the country, with a display of the advantages which might be expected from a settlement in it. This induced many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, to think of a removal. A number of merchants and others, formed themselves into a company, for the sake of encouraging the settlement and trade of the country, and purchased 20,000 acres of land. They had a President, Treasurer, Secretary, and a committee of twelve, who resided in England, and transacted their common business. Their objects were to encourage the manufactures of leather and glass, the cutting and sawing of timber, and the whale-fishery.

The land was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. They who rented lands were to pay one penny yearly per acre. Servants when their terms were expired, were entitled to fifty acres, subject to 2*s.* per annum; and their masters were allowed fifty acres for each servant so liberated, but subject to 4*s.* per annum; or if the master should give the servant fifty acres out of his own division, he might receive from the proprietor 100 acres subject to 6*s.* per annum. In every hundred thousand acres, the proprietor reserved ten for himself.

According to the powers given by the charter, "for regulating and governing property within the province," he entered into certain articles with the purchasers and adventurers (July 11, 1681) which were entitled "Conditions and Concessions." These related

ed to the laying out roads, city and county lots, the privilege of water-courses, the property of mines and minerals, the reservation of timber and mulberry trees, the terms of improvement and cultivation, the traffic with the Indians, and the means of preserving peace with them, of preventing debtors, and other defaulters, from making their escape, and, of preserving the morals of the planters, by the execution of the penal laws of England, till an Assembly should meet.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the first Colony, under his authority, came over to America, and began their settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. By them the Proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them, that "the Great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the King of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein, but, that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent, that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; but if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men, chosen on both sides." With this letter, he appointed Commissioners to treat with the Indians, about purchasing land, and promised them, that he would shortly come and converse with them in person.*

The next spring he completed a frame of government (April 25, 1682) with the express design "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." It is prefaced with a long discourse on the nature, origin, use and abuse of government; which shews that he had not only well studied the subject, but that he was fond of displaying his knowledge.

To this frame of government was subjoined a body of fundamental laws, agreed upon by Penn and the ad-
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* About this time (Nov. 1681) he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

venturers in London, which respected moral, political and economical matters ; which were not to be altered but by the consent of the Governor, or his heirs, and six parts in seven of the freemen, met in Provincial Council and Assembly. In this code we find that celebrated declaration, which has contributed more than any thing else to the prosperity of Pennsylvania, viz. " That all persons living in the province, who confess and acknowledge the ONE almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested for their religious persuasion or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever." To which was added another equally conducive to the welfare of society : " That according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and the ease of the creation, every first day of the week called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common daily labour, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God, according to their understandings."

These laws were an original compact between the Governor and the Freemen of the colony. They appear to be founded in wisdom and equity, and some of them have been copied into the Declaration of Rights prefixed to several of the present Republican Constitutions in America. The system of government which Penn produced has been regarded as an Utopian project ; but tho' in some parts visionary and impracticable, yet it was liberal and popular, calculated to gain adventurers with a prospect of Republican advantages. Some of its provisions, particularly the rotation of the Council, have been adopted by a very enlightend body of American legislators, after the expiration of a century. The experiment is now in operation, and without experiment nothing can be fairly decided in the political, any more than in the physical world.

Having by the help of Sir William Jones, and other gentlemen of the long robe, constructed a plan of government for his colony, Mr. Penn prepared to make the voyage to America, that he might attempt the execution of it.

At this time, the penal laws against Dissenters were executed with rigour in England, which made many of the Quakers desirous of accompanying or following Penn into America, where they had a prospect of the most extensive liberty of conscience. Having chosen some for his particular companions, he embarked with them in August, 1682, and from the Downs, where the ship lay waiting for a wind, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friends, which he called "a farewell to England." After a pleasant passage of six weeks, they came within sight of the American coast, and were refreshed by the land breezes at the distance of 12 leagues. As the ship sailed up the Delaware, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted their new Governor with an air of satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, and summoned the people to meet him, when possession of the soil was given him in the legal form of that day, and he entertained them with a speech, explaining the purpose of his coming, and the views of his government, assuring them of his intention to preserve civil and religious liberty, and exhorting them to peace and sobriety. Having renewed the commissions of their former Magistrates, he went to Chester, where he repeated the same things, and received their congratulations. The Swedes appointed a Delegate to compliment him on his arrival, and to assure him of their affection and fidelity.

Three principal objects engaged the attention of Mr. Penn; one was to unite the territory with the province, another was to enter into a treaty with the Indians, and a third was to lay out a capital city.

Mr. Penn's great object was to treat with the natives. The benevolence of his disposition led him to exercise great tenderness toward them, which was much increased by an opinion which he had formed, and

and which he openly avowed, that they were descendants of the ten dispersed tribes of Israel. He travelled into the country, visited them in their cabins, was present at their feasts, conversed with them in a free and familiar manner, and gained their affections by his obliging carriage, and his frequent acts of generosity. But on public occasions, he received them with ceremony, and transacted business with solemnity and order.

In one of his excursions in the winter, he found a chief warrior sick, and his wife preparing to sweat him in the usual manner, by pouring water on a heap of hot stones, in a closely covered hut, and then plunging him into the river, thro' a hole cut in the ice. To divert himself during the sweating operation, the Chief sang the achievements of his ancestors, then his own, and concluded his song with this reflection: "Why are we sick, and these strangers well? It seems as if they were sent to inherit the land in our stead! Ah! it is because they love the Great Spirit, and we do not!" The sentiment was rational, and such as often occurred to the sagacious among the natives: We cannot suppose it was disagreeable to Mr. Penn, whose view was to impress them with an idea of his honest and pacific intentions, and to make a fair bargain with them.

Some of their Chiefs made him a voluntary present of the land which they claimed, others sold it at a stipulated price. The form of one of these treaties is thus described in a letter which he wrote to his friends in England. "The King sat in the middle of a half-moon, and had his Council, old and wise, on each hand. Behind, at a little distance, sat the young ones in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved the business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, took me by the hand, saluted me in the name of the King, told me he was ordered by the King to speak to me, and that now it was not he that spoke, but the King, because what he should say was the King's mind. During the time this person was speaking, not a man of them

was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachems, first to tell them what was done, next to charge them to love the *Christians*, to live in peace with me and my people, and that they should never do me or my people any wrong: At every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen, in their own way. The pay or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring Kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every King, then by the hands of a person, for that work appointed, was a proportion sent, sorted and folded, with a gravity which is admirable. Then that King subdivided it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects."

Mr. Penn was so happy as to succeed in his endeavours to gain the good will of the Indians. They have frequently, in subsequent treaties many years after, expressed great veneration for his memory, and to perpetuate it, they have given to the successive Governors of Pennsylvania the name of *Onas*, which signifies *a Pen*. By this name they are commonly known and addressed in the speeches made by the Six Nations in all their treaties.

One part of his agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person but to himself or his agents; another was, that his agents should not occupy nor grant any lands, but those which were fairly purchased of the Indians. These stipulations were confirmed by subsequent acts of Assembly, and every bargain made between private persons and the Indians without leave of the proprietor was declared void. The charter which Penn had ob-

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tained of the Crown comprehended a far greater extent of territory, than it was proper for him at first to purchase of the natives.

He did not think it for his interest to take any more at once than he had a prospect of granting away to settlers. But his colony increased beyond his expectation, and when new tracts were wanted the Indians rose in their demands. His first purchases were made at his own expence, and the goods delivered on these occasions went by the name of presents. In course of time, when a treaty and a purchase went on together, the Governor and his successors made the speeches, and the Assembly were at the expence of the presents. When one paid the cost, and the other enjoyed the profit, a subject of altercation arose between the Proprietary and the popular interests, which other causes contributed to increase and inflame.

Mr. Penn easily foresaw that the situation of his province, and the liberal encouragement which he had given to settlers, would draw people of all denominations thither, and render it a place of commerce; he therefore determined to lay the plan of a capital city, which, in conformity to his catholic and pacific ideas, he called PHILADELPHIA. The scite of it was a neck of land between the river Delaware on the east, and the Schuylkill (*Hiding Creek*) a branch on the west, and he designed that the city should extend from one to the other, the distance being two miles. This spot was chosen on account of the firm soil, the gentle rising from each river towards the midst, the numerous springs, the convenience of coves capable of being used as docks, the depth of water for ships of burden, and the good anchorage. The ground was surveyed, and a plan of the intended city was drawn by Thomas Holme, surveyor-general. Ten streets, of two miles in length, were laid out from river to river, and twenty streets of one mile in length, crossing them at right angles. Four squares were reserved for common purposes, one in each quarter of the city, and in the centre, on the most elevated spot, was a
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larger square of ten acres, in which were to be built a State-house, a market-house, a school-house, and a place of worship. On the side of each river it was intended to build wharves and ware-houses, and from each front street nearest to the rivers, an open space was to be left, in the descent to the shores, which would have added much to the beauty of the city.* All owners of 1000 acres were entitled to a city-lot in the front streets, or in the central high street, and before each house was to be an open court, planted with rows of trees. Smaller purchasers were to be accommodated in the other streets; and care was taken in all, that no building should encroach on the street lines.

The city was begun in 1682, and within less than a year, "80 houses and cottages were built, wherein merchants and mechanics exercised their respective occupations;" and they soon found the country around them so well cultivated by the planters, as to afford them bread and vegetables, while the venison, fowl, and fish made an agreeable variety with the salted provisions which they imported. Penn himself writes, with an air of cheerfulness, that he was well contented with the country, and the entertainment which he found in it. This letter is among his printed works, and, in the same collection, we find an affectionate address to the people of Pennsylvania; in it he appears to have a tender concern for their moral and religious improvement, and warns them against the temptations to which they were exposed. Their circumstances were indeed peculiar; they had suffered contempt and persecution in England, and were now at rest, in the enjoyment of liberty, under a popular form of government; the eyes of the world were upon them; their former enemies were watching their conduct, and would have been glad of an opportunity to reproach them; it was therefore his desire that they should be
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* This plan has not been adhered to, unfortunately both for the beauty and the health of the city, particularly about Front and Water streets.

moderate in prosperity, as they had been patient in adversity. The concluding words of this address may give us a specimen of his style and manner of preaching. "My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage; he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power; he hath put precious opportunities into your hands; have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things by which the inhabitants of the land, that were before you, grieved his spirit;* but sanctify God, the living God in your hearts, that his blessing may fall and rest as the dew of heaven on you and your offspring. Then shall it be seen to the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel; but your tents shall be goodly, and your dwellings glorious."

In the spring of 1683, a second Assembly was held in the new city of Philadelphia, and a great number of laws were passed. Among other good regulations, it was enacted, that, in order to prevent law-suits, three arbitrators, called peace-makers, should be chosen by every County Court, to hear and determine small differences between man and man. This Assembly granted to the Governor an impost on certain goods exported and imported, which he, after acknowledging their goodness, was pleased, for the encouragement of the traders, "freely to remit." But the most distinguished act of this Assembly was, their acceptance of another frame of government, which the proprietor had devised, which was "in part conformed to the first, in part modified according to the Act of Settlement, and in part essentially different from both."—The most material alterations were the reducing the number of the Assembly from 72 to 54, and the giving the Governor a negative, in lieu of a treble voice in acts of legislation. Their "thankful" acceptance of this second charter was a proof of his great ascendancy over them, and the confidence which they placed in

* Probably alluding to the Ten Tribes of Israel, from whom he supposes the Indians to be descended.

in him ; but these changes were regarded by some as a departure from the principles on which the original compact was grounded.

The state of the province at this time has been compared to that of " a father and his family ; the latter united by interest and affection, the former revered for the wisdom of his institutions, and the indulgent use of his authority. Those who were ambitious of repose found it in Pennsylvania, and as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed. All partook of the leaven which they found ; the community wore the same equal face ; no one aspired, no one was oppressed ; industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration." When we contemplate this agreeable picture, we cannot but lament that Mr. Penn should ever have quitted his province ; but, after residing in it about two years, he found himself urged, by motives of interest as well as philanthropy, to return to England. At his departure, in the summer of 1684, his capital city, then only of two years standing, contained nearly 300 houses, and 2000 inhabitants ; besides which, there were 20 other settlements begun, including those of the Dutch and Swedes. He left the administration of government in the hands of the Council and Assembly, having appointed five commissioners to preside in his place.

The motives of his return to England were two : A controversy with Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, concerning the limits of their respective patents ; and a concern for his brethren, who were suffering by the operation of the penal laws against Dissenters from the established Church.

The controversy with Lord Baltimore originated in the construction of " the 40th degree of latitude," which Penn's heirs contended was the *beginning*, and Baltimore's the *completion* of the 40th degree, the difference being 69 miles and a half.*

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* For the particulars of this controversy, and its final decision by Lord Chancellor Hardwick in 1750, see Douglas's Summary II. 309, and Vesey's Reports I. 444.

The other cause of Mr. Penn's departure for England proved a source of much greater vexation, and involved consequences injurious to his reputation and interest. His concern for his suffering brethren induced him to use the interest which he had at Court for their relief. He arrived in the month of August, and the death of Charles, which happened the next February brought to the throne James II. under whom, when Lord High Admiral, Penn's father had commanded, and who had always maintained a steady friendship with the son. This succession rather increased than diminished his attachment to the Court; but as James openly professed himself a Papist, and the prejudices of a great part of the nation against him were very high, it was impossible for his intimate friends to escape the imputation of being popishly affected. Penn had before been suspected to be a *Jesuit*, and what now contributed to fix the stigma upon him was, his writing a book on "the liberty of conscience," a darling principle at Court, and vindicating the Duke of Buckingham, who had written on the same subject. Another circumstance which strengthened the suspicion was, his taking lodgings at Kensington, in the neighbourhood of the Court, and his frequent attendance there, to solicit the liberation of his brethren who now filled the prisons of the kingdom.

He endeavoured to allay these suspicions by publishing an address to his brethren, in which he refers to their knowledge of his character, principles and writings, for 18 years past, and expresses his love of moderation, and his wish that the nation might not become "barbarous for christianity, nor abuse one another for God's sake." But what gave him the greatest pain was, that his worthy friend Doctor Tillotson had entertained the same suspicion, and expressed it in his conversation. To him he wrote an expostulatory letter, and the Doctor frankly owned to him the ground of his apprehension, which Penn so fully removed, that Doctor Tillotson candidly acknowledged his mistake, and made it his business on all occasions

to vindicate Penn's character.* This ingenuous acknowledgement from a gentleman of so much information, and so determined an enemy to Popery, is one of the best evidences which can be had of Mr. Penn's integrity in this respect; but the current of popular prejudice was at that time so strong, that it was not in the power of so great and good a man as Dr. Tillotson to turn it.

Had Mr. Penn fallen in with the discontented part of the nation, and encouraged the emigration of those who dreaded the consequences of King James's open profession of Popery, he might have made large additions to the number of his colonists, and greatly increased his fortune, but he had received such assurances from the King, of his intention to introduce *universal toleration*, that he thought it his duty to wait for the enlargement which his brethren must experience from the expected event. His book on liberty of conscience, addressed to the King and Council, had not been published many days, before the King issued a general pardon, and instructed the Judges of Assize on their respective circuits to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers in particular. In consequence of this, about 1500 who had been confined in the prisons, were set at liberty. This was followed by a declaration for liberty of conscience, and for suspending the execution of the penal laws against Dissenters, which was an occasion of great joy to all denominations of them. The Quakers; at their next general meeting, drew up an address of thanks to the King, which was presented by Mr. Penn.

The declaration of indulgence, being a specimen of that *dispensing power*, which the House of Stuart were fond of assuming, and being evidently intended to favour the free exercise of the Popish religion, gave an alarm to the nation, and caused very severe censures on those, who having felt the benefit of it, had
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* These letters, which do honour to both the writers, are printed in the first volume of Penn's works, and in the *Biographia Britannica*.

expressed their gratitude in terms of affection and respect. The Quakers in particular became very obnoxious, and the prejudice against Penn as an abettor of the arbitrary maxims of the Court, was increased, though on a candid view of the matter, there is no evidence that he sought any thing more than an impartial and universal liberty of conscience.*

It is much to be regretted, that he had not taken this critical opportunity to return to Pennsylvania.—His controversy with Lord Baltimore had been decided by the Council, and his pacific principle ought to have led him to acquiesce in their determination, as did his antagonist. He had accomplished his purpose with regard to his brethren the Quakers, who, being delivered from their difficulties, were at liberty either to remain in the kingdom, or follow him to America. The state of the province was such as to require his presence, and he might at this time have resumed his office, and carried on his business in Pennsylvania, with the greatest probability of spending the remainder of his days there in usefulness and peace.

The Revolution which soon followed, placed him in a very disagreeable situation. Having been a friend to James, he was supposed to be an enemy to William. As he was walking one day in White-hall, he was arrested and examined by the Lords in Council, before whom he solemnly declared, "That he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and that he had never acted against either; but that King James had been his friend and his father's friend, and that he thought himself bound in justice and gratitude to be a friend to him." He was obliged to find securities for his appearance at the next term and,

* "If an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a *Jesuit* or *Papist*, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it; and I can bear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it to me."—*Penn's Let. to Sec. Popple*, Oct. 24, 1688.

and thence to the succeeding term, in the last day of which, nothing having been specifically laid to his charge, he was acquitted.

The next year (1690) he was taken up again, on suspicion of holding correspondence with the exiled King. The Lords requiring securities for his appearance, he appealed to King William in person, who was inclined to acquit him; but, to please some of the Council, he was, for a while, held to bail, and then acquitted.

Soon after this, his name was inserted in a proclamation, wherein 18 Lords, and others, were charged with adhering to the enemies of the kingdom; but no evidence appearing against him, he was a third time acquitted by the Court of King's Bench.

Being now at liberty, he meditated a return to Pennsylvania, and published proposals for another emigration of settlers. He had proceeded so far as to obtain from the Secretary of State an order for a convoy; but his voyage was prevented by a fourth accusation, on the oath of a person whom the Parliament, afterward, declared a cheat and impostor. A warrant was issued for apprehending him, and he narrowly escaped an arrest, at his return from the funeral of his friend George Fox, on the 16th of January 1691. He then thought it prudent to retire, and, accordingly, kept himself concealed for two or three years, during which time he employed himself in writing several pieces, one of which, entitled, "Maxims and Reflections relating to the Conduct of Human Life," being the result of much observation and experience, has been much celebrated, and has passed through several editions. In 1693, by the mediation of several persons of rank, he was admitted to appear before the King in Council, where he so maintained his innocence of what had been alledged against him, that he was a fourth time honourably acquitted.

The true cause of these frequent suspicions was the conduct of his wife, who being passionately attached to the Queen, consort of James, made a practice to
visit

visit her at St. Germain's every year, and to carry to her such presents as she could collect from the friends of the unhappy royal family. Though there was no political connexion or correspondence between Penn's family and the King's, yet this circumstance gave colour to the jealousy which had been conceived; but the death of his wife, which happened in February, 1694, put an end to all these suspicions. He married a second wife in 1696, a daughter of Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

By his continual expenses, and by the peculiar difficulties to which he had been exposed, he had run himself deeply into debt. He had lost 7000*l.* before the Revolution, and 4000*l.* since, besides his paternal estate in Ireland, valued at 450*l.* per annum. To repair his fortune, he requested his friends in Pennsylvania, that 100 of them would lend him 100*l.* each, for some years, on landed security. This, he said, would enable him to return to America, and bring a large number of inhabitants with him. What answer was given to this request does not appear; but, from his remaining in England six or seven years after, it may be concluded that he received no encouragement of this kind from them. The low circumstances of the first settlers must have rendered it impossible to comply with such a request.

Pennsylvania had experienced many inconveniences from his absence. The Provincial Council, having no steady hand to hold the balance, had fallen into a controversy respecting their several powers and privileges, and Moore, one of the proprietary officers, had been impeached of high misdemeanors. Disgusted with their disputes, and dissatisfied with the Constitution which he had framed and altered, Penn wrote to his Commissioners (1686), to require its dissolution; but the Assembly, perceiving the loss of their privileges, and of the rights of the people, to be involved in frequent innovations, opposed the surrender. The Commissioners themselves were soon after removed by the
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Proprietor, who appointed for his Deputy John Blackwell, an officer trained under Cromwell, and completely versed in the arts of intrigue.

He began his administration in December, 1688, by a display of the power of the Proprietor, and by endeavouring to sow discord among the freemen. Unawed by his insolence, they were firm in defence of their privileges, whilst, at the same time, they made a profession of peace and obedience. He imprisoned the Speaker of the Assembly, which had impeached Moore, and, by a variety of artifices, evaded the granting an Habeas Corpus. He delayed as long as possible the meeting of a new Assembly, and when they entered on the subject of grievances, he prevailed on some of the members to withdraw from their seats, that there might not be a quorum. The remainder voted that his conduct was treacherous, and a strong prejudice was conceived not only against the Deputy, but the Proprietor who had appointed him. The province also fell under the royal displeasure. Their laws had not been presented for approbation, and the new King and Queen had not been proclaimed in Pennsylvania for a long time after their accession; but the administration of government was continued in the name of the exiled Monarch. At what time the alteration was made we cannot be certain; but in the year 1692, the King and Queen took the government of the colony into their own hands, and appointed Col. Fletcher Governor of New-York and Pennsylvania, with equal powers and prerogatives in both, without any reference to the charter of Pennsylvania.

It being a time of war between England and France, and the province of New-York being much exposed to the incursions of the Indians in the French interest, the principal object which Fletcher had in view, was, to procure supplies for the defence of the country, and the support of those Indians who were in alliance with the English. The Assembly insisted on a confirmation of their laws, as a condition of their granting a supply, to which he consented, “during the
King’s

King's pleasure." They would have gone farther, and demanded a redress of grievances, but Fletcher having intimated to them that the King might probably annex them to New-York, and they knowing themselves unable to maintain a controversy with the Crown, submitted, for the present, to hold their liberties by courtesy, and voted a supply. On another application of the same kind, they nominated Collectors in their bill, which he deemed inconsistent with his prerogative, and, after some altercations, dissolved them.

In 1696, William Markham, Deputy-Governor under Fletcher, made a similar proposal, but could obtain no supply till an expedient was contrived to save their privileges. A temporary act of settlement was passed, subject to the confirmation of the Proprietor, and then a grant was made of 300*l*. but as they had been represented, by some at New-York, as having acted inconsistently with their principles, in granting money to maintain a war, they appropriated this grant to "the relief of those friendly Indians who had suffered by the war." The request was repeated every year, as long as the war continued; but the infancy, poverty and embarrassments of the province were alleged for non-compliance. The peace of Ryswick, in 1698, put an end to these requisitions.

Thus, the province of Pennsylvania, as well as its Proprietor, experienced many inconveniences during their long separation of 15 years; and it is somewhat singular to remark, that, whilst they were employed in an ineffectual struggle with the royal Governor and his Deputy, he, whom Montesquieu styles the American Lycurgus, was engaged in his darling work of religious controversy, and of itinerant preaching thro' England, Wales and Ireland.

In August, 1699, he embarked with his family, and after a tedious passage of three months, arrived in Pennsylvania. By reason of this long voyage, they escaped a pestilential distemper which, during that time, raged in the colony.

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He did not find the people so tractable as before. Their minds were soured by his long absence, by the conduct of his Deputies and the royal Governors; their system of laws was incomplete, and their title to their lands insecure. After much time spent in trying their tempers, and penetrating their views, he found it most adviseable to listen to their remonstrances. Five sessions of Assembly were held during his second residence with them; his expressions in his public speeches were soothing, and he promised to do every thing in his power to render them happy. They requested of him that, in case of his future absence, he would appoint for his Deputies men of *integrity and property*, who should be invested with full powers to grant and confirm lands, and instructed to give true measure; and that he would execute such an instrument as would secure their privileges and possessions. To these requests he seemed to consent, and with the most flattering complaisance desired them to name a person for his substitute, which they, with equal politeness, declined.

In May, 1700, the Charter was surrendered by six parts in seven of the Assembly, under a solemn promise of restitution with such alterations and amendments as should be found necessary. When a new Charter was in debate, the representatives of the lower counties wanted to obtain some privileges peculiar to themselves, which the others were not willing to allow. The members from the territory therefore refused to join, and thus a separation was made of the province of Pennsylvania from the three lower counties.

In this new Charter, the people had no voice in the election of Counsellors; whoever afterwards served in this capacity, were appointed by the proprietor, but they had no power of legislation. The executive was vested solely in him, and he had a negative on all their laws. On the other hand, the Assembly had the right of originating laws, which before had been prepared for their deliberation. The number of mem-
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bers was four from each county, and more if the Governor and Assembly should agree. They were invested with all the powers of a legislative body, according to the rights of English subjects, and the practice of other American colonies. The privileges before granted were confirmed, and some of their most salutary laws were included in the body of the Charter; all of which were declared irrevocable, except by consent of 6-7ths of the Assembly with the Governor; but the clause respecting liberty of conscience was declared absolutely irrevocable. A provisional article was added, that if in three years, the representatives of the province and territories should not join in legislation, each county of the province might choose eight persons, and the city of Philadelphia two, to represent them in one Assembly, and each county of the territory the same number to constitute another Assembly. On the 28th of October 1701, this Charter was accepted by the representatives of the province; previous to which (viz. on the 25th) the city of Philadelphia was incorporated by another Charter, and the government of it committed to a Mayor and Recorder, eight Aldermen, and twelve Common Councilmen. The persons in each of these offices were appointed by name in the Charter, who were empowered to choose successors to themselves annually, and to add to the number of Aldermen and Common Councilmen so many of the freemen as the whole Court should think proper.

These two charters were the last public acts of Mr. Penn's personal administration in Pennsylvania. They were done in haste, and while he was preparing to embark for England, which he did immediately on signing them. The cause of his sudden departure was an account which he had received, that a bill was about to be brought into Parliament, for reducing the proprietary and chartered governments to an immediate dependence on the Crown. In his speech to the Assembly, he intimated his intention to return and settle among them with his family; but this proved

to be his last visit to America. He sailed from Philadelphia in the end of October, and arrived in England about the middle of December, 1701. The bill in Parliament, which had so greatly alarmed him, was, by the solicitation of the friends of the colonies, postponed, and finally lost. In about two months, King William died, and Queen Anne came to the throne, which brought Penn again into favour at Court, and in the name of the society of which he was at the head, presented to her an address of congratulation.

He then resumed his favourite employment of writing, preaching, and visiting the societies of Friends in England, till the year 1707, when he found himself involved in a suit at law with the executors of a person who had formerly been his steward. The cause was attended with such circumstances, that, though many thought him ill used, the Court of Chancery did not give him relief, which obliged him to live within the rules of the Fleet Prison for about a year, till the matter was accommodated. After this, he made another circuitous journey among his friends, and in the year 1710 took a handsome seat at Rushcombe in Buckinghamshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life.

His infirmities and misfortunes increased with his age, and unfitted him for the exercise of his beloved work. In 1711, he dictated a preface to the journal of his old friend John Banks, which was his last printed work. The next year, he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which impaired his memory. For three succeeding years he continued in a state of great debility, but attended the meeting of Friends at Reading, as long as he was able to ride in his chariot, and sometimes spake short and weighty sentences, being incapable of pronouncing a long discourse. Approaching, by gradual decay, to the close of life, he died on the 30th of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried in his family tomb, at Jordan's, in Buckinghamshire.

Notwithstanding his large paternal inheritance, and the great opportunities which he enjoyed of accumulating property by his connexion with America, his latter days were passed in a state far from affluent. He was continually subject to the importunity of his creditors, and obliged to mortgage his estate. He was on the point of surrendering his province to the Crown, for a valuable consideration, to extricate himself from debt. The instrument was preparing for his signature, but his death, which happened rather unexpectedly, prevented the execution of it; and thus his province in America descended to his posterity, who held it till the Revolution.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.*

I HAVE amused myself with collecting some little anecdotes of my family. You may remember the enquiries I made when you were with me in England, among such of my relations as were then living, and the journey I indertook for that purpose. To be acquainted with the particulars of my parentage and life, many of which are unknown to you, I flatter myself, will afford the same pleasure to you as to me. I shall relate them upon paper; it will be an agreeable employment of a week's uninterrupted leisure, which I promise myself during my present retirement in the country. There are also other motives which induce me to the undertaking. From the bosom of poverty and obscurity, in which I drew my first breath, and spent my earliest years, I have raised myself to
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* The young reader would do well to pay attention to the history of a man, who, by his industry, perseverance, and economy, arrived to riches and honours—he is the first American Philosopher. It is true, that every man is not born with a genius like Franklin; but every man may, and ought to be honest and industrious in his station.

a state of opulence, and to some degree of celebrity in the world. A constant good fortune has attended me thro' every period of my life to my present advanced age; and my descendants may be desirous of learning what were the means of which I made use, and which, thanks to the assisting hand of Providence, have proved so eminently successful.

And here let me with all humility acknowledge, that to Divine Providence I am indebted for the felicity I have hitherto enjoyed. It is that Power alone which has furnished me with the means I have employed, and that has crowned them with success. My faith in this respect leads me to hope, tho' I cannot count upon it, that the Divine goodness will still be exercised towards me, either by prolonging the duration of my happiness to the close of life, or by giving me fortitude to support any melancholy reverse which may happen to me as to so many others. My future fortune is unknown but to Him in whose hand is our destiny, and who can make our very afflictions subservient to our benefit.

One of my uncles, desirous, like myself, of collecting anecdotes of our family, gave me some notes, from which I have derived many particulars respecting our ancestors. From these I learn, that they had lived in the same village (Eaton, in Northamptonshire) upon a freehold of about 30 acres, for the space, at least, of 300 years. How long they had resided there prior to that period, my uncle had been unable to discover; probably ever since the institution of surnames, when they took the appellation of Franklin, which had formerly been the name of a particular order of individuals.*

This petty estate would not have sufficed for their subsistence, had they not added the trade of blacksmith,

* As a proof that *Franklin* was anciently the common name of an order of men in England, see Judge Fortescue *De laudibus legum Anglie*, written about the year 1412, in which a passage shews, "that by them (i.e. *Franklins*, substantial householders) good juries may be formed in any part of England."

smith, which was perpetuated in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldest son having been uniformly brought up to this employment; a custom which both he and my father observed with respect to their eldest sons.

In the researches I made at Eaton, I found no account of their births, marriages and deaths, earlier than the year 1555, the parish register not extending farther back than that period. This register informed me, that I was the youngest son of the youngest branch of the family, counting five generations. My grandfather, Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Eaton till he was too old to continue his trade, when he retired to Banbury in Oxfordshire, where his son John, who was a dyer, resided, and with whom my father was apprenticed. He died, and was buried there: we saw his monument in 1758. His eldest son lived in the family house at Eaton, which he bequeathed, with the land belonging to it, to his only daughter, who, in concert with her husband, Mr. Fisher, of Wellingborough, afterwards sold it to Mr. Ested, the present proprietor.

My grandfather had four surviving sons, Thomas, John, Benjamin and Josias. I shall give you such particulars of them as my memory will furnish, not having my papers here, in which you will find a more minute account, if they are not lost during my absence.

Thomas had learned the trade of blacksmith under his father; but possessing a good natural understanding, he improved it by study, at the solicitation of a gentleman of the name of Palmer, who was at that time the principal inhabitant of the village, and who encouraged, in like manner, all my uncles to improve their minds. Thomas thus rendered himself competent to the functions of a country attorney, soon became an essential personage in the affairs of the village, and was one of the chief movers of every public enterprize, as well relative to the county, as the town of Northampton. A variety of remarkable incidents

dents were told us of him at Eaton. After enjoying the esteem and patronage of Lord Halifax, he died Jan. 6, 1702, precisely four years before I was born. The recital that was made us of his life and character, by some aged persons of the village, struck you, I remember, as extraordinary, from its analogy to what you knew of myself. "Had he died," said you, "just four years later, one might have supposed a transmigration of souls."

John, to the best of my belief, was brought up to the trade of a wool-dyer.

Benjamin served his apprenticeship in London to a silk-dyer. He was an industrious man: I remember him well; for, while I was a child, he joined my father at Boston, and lived for some years in the house with us. A particular affection had always subsisted between my father and him, and I was his god-son. He arrived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of poems in manuscript, consisting of little fugitive pieces, addressed to his friends. He had invented a short-hand, which he taught me, but having never made use of it, I have now forgotten it. He was a man of piety, and a constant attendant on the best preachers, whose sermons he took a pleasure in writing down, according to the expeditory method he had devised. Many volumes were thus collected by him. He was extremely fond of politics, too much so, perhaps, for his situation. I lately found, in London, a collection which he had made of all the principal pamphlets relative to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717. Many volumes are wanting, as appears by the series of numbers; but there still remain 8 in folio, and 24 in quarto and octavo. The collection had fallen into the hands of a second-hand bookseller, who, knowing me, by having sold me some books, brought it to me. My uncle, it seems, had left it behind him on his departure for America, about 50 years ago. I found various notes of his writing in the margins.

Our humble family had early embraced the Reformation. They remained faithfully attached during
the

the reign of Queen Mary, when they were in danger of being molested, on account of their zeal against Popery. They had an English Bible, and, to conceal it the more securely, they conceived the project of fastening it, open, with packthreads across the leaves, on the inside of the lid of a close-stool. When my great-grand-father wished to read to his family, he reversed the lid of the close-stool upon his knees, and passed the leaves from one side to the other, which were held down on each by the packthread. One of the children was stationed at the door, to give notice if he saw the proctor (an officer of the Spiritual Court) make his appearance: in that case, the lid was restored to its place, with the Bible concealed under it, as before.*

The whole family preserved its attachment to the Church of England till towards the close of the reign of Charles II. when certain ministers, who had been ejected as non-conformists, having held conventicles in Northamptonshire, they were joined by Benjamin and Josias, who adhered to them ever after. The rest of the family continued in the Episcopal church.

My father, Josias, married early in life. He went, with his wife and three children, to New-England, about the year 1682. Conventicles being at that time prohibited by law, and frequently disturbed, some considerable persons of his acquaintance determined to go to America, where they hoped to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and my father was prevailed on to accompany them.

My father had also, by the same wife, four children born in America, and ten others by a second wife, making in all seventeen. I remember to have seen thirteen seated together at his table, who all arrived to years of maturity, and were married. I was the last of the sons, and the youngest child excepting two daughters. I was born at Boston, in New-England. My mother, the second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first colonists of

* The American reader will doubtless be thankful that he did not live in such times, or be subject to such laws.

of New-England, of whom Cotton Mather makes honourable mention in his Ecclesiastical History of that province, as "a pious learned Englishman."

My brothers were all put apprentice to different trades. With respect to myself, I was sent, at the age of eight years, to a grammar school. My father destined me for the Church, and already regarded me as the chaplain of the family. The promptitude with which, from my infancy, I had learned to read, for I do not remember to have been ever without this acquirement, and the encouragement of his friends, who assured him that I should one day certainly become a man of letters, confirmed him in this design. My uncle Benjamin approved also of the scheme, and promised to give me all his volumes of sermons, written, as I have said, in the short-hand of his invention, if I would take the pains to learn it.

I remained, however, scarcely a year at grammar-school, altho', in this short interval, I had risen from the middle to the head of my class, from thence to the class immediately above, and was to pass, at the end of the year, to the one next in order. But my father, burthened with a numerous family, found that he was incapable, without subjecting himself to difficulties, of providing for the expence of a collegiate education; and considering, besides, as I heard him say to his friends, that persons so educated were often poorly provided for, he renounced his first intentions, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a Mr. George Brownwell, who was a skillful master, and succeeded very well in his profession by employing gentle means only, and such as were calculated to encourage his scholars. Under him I soon acquired an excellent hand, but I failed in arithmetic, and made therein no great progress.

At ten years of age, I was called home, to assist my father in his occupation, which was that of soap-boiler and tallow-chandler, a business to which he had served no apprenticeship, but which he embraced on
his

his arrival in New-England, because he found his own, that of a dyer, in too little request to enable him to maintain his family. I was, accordingly, employed in cutting the wicks, filling the moulds, taking care of the shop, carrying messages, &c.

This business displeased me, and I felt a strong inclination for a sea life; but my father set his face against it. The vicinity of the water, however, gave me frequent opportunities of venturing myself both upon and within it, and I soon acquired the art of swimming, and of managing a boat. When embarked with other children, the helm was commonly deputed to me, particularly on difficult occasions; and, in every other project, I was almost always the leader of the troop, whom I sometimes involved in embarrassments. I shall give an instance of this, which demonstrates an early disposition of mind for public enterprises, tho' the one in question was not conducted by justice.

The mill-pond was terminated on one side by a marsh, upon the borders of which we were accustomed to take our stand, at high water, to angle for small fish. By dint of walking, we had converted the place into a perfect quagmire. My proposal was to erect a wharf that should afford us firm footing, and I pointed to my companions a large heap of stones, intended for building a new house near the marsh, and which were well adapted for our purpose. Accordingly, when the workmen retired in the evening, I assembled a number of my play-fellows, and by labouring diligently, like ants, sometimes four of us uniting our strength to carry a single stone, we removed them all, and constructed our little quay. The workmen were surprised the next morning at not finding their stones, which had been conveyed to our wharf. Enquiries were made respecting the authors of this conveyance; we were discovered, complaints were exhibited against us, many of us underwent correction on the part of our parents, and tho' I strenuously defended the utility of the work, my father at length convinced me, that nothing which was not strictly honest, could be useful.

It will not, perhaps, be uninteresting to you to know what sort of a man my father was. He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle size, but well made and strong, and extremely active in whatever he undertook. He designed with a degree of neatness, and knew a little of music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he sung a psalm or hymn with accompaniment of his violin, as was his frequent practice in an evening, when the labours of the day were finished, it was truly delightful to hear him. He was versed also in mechanics, and could, upon occasion, use the tools of a variety of trades. But his greatest excellence was, a sound understanding and solid judgment in matters of prudence, both in public and private life. In the former, indeed, he never engaged, because his numerous family, and the mediocrity of his fortune, kept him unremittingly employed in the duties of his profession. But I very well remember, that the leading men of the place used frequently to come and ask his advice respecting affairs of the town, or of the church to which he belonged, and that they paid much deference to his opinion. Individuals were also in the habit of consulting him in their private affairs, and he was often chosen arbiter between contending parties.

He was fond of having at his table, as often as possible, some friends or well informed neighbours, capable of rational conversation, and he was always careful to introduce useful or ingenious topics of discourse, which might tend to form the minds of his children. By this means, he early attracted our attention to what was just, prudent and beneficial in the conduct of life. He never talked of the meats which appeared upon the table, never discussed whether they were well or ill dressed, of a good or bad flavour, high-seasoned, or otherwise preferable or inferior to this or that dish of a similar kind. Thus, accustomed, from my infancy, to the utmost inattention as to these objects, I have always been perfectly regardless of what kind of food was before me; and I pay so little attention to
it

it, even now, that it would be a hard matter for me to recollect, a few hours after I had dined, of what my dinner had consisted. When travelling, I have often particularly experienced the advantage of this habit; for it has often happened to me to be in company with persons who, having a more delicate, because a more exercised taste, have suffered in many cases considerable inconvenience; while, as to myself, I have had nothing to desire.

My mother was likewise possessed of an excellent constitution. She suckled all her ten children, and I never heard either her or my father complain of any other disorder than that of which they died; my father at the age of 87, and my mother at 85. They are buried at Boston, where, a few years ago, I placed a marble over their grave.

I continued employed in my father's trade for the space two years; that is to say, till I arrived at twelve years of age. About this time my brother John, who had served his apprenticeship in London, having quitted my father, and being married and settled in business on his own account at Rhode-Island, I was destined to all appearance to supply his place and be a candle-maker all my life: but my dislike of this occupation continuing, my father was apprehensive, that, if a more agreeable one were not offered me, I might play the truant and escape to sea; as, to his great mortification, my brother Josias had done. He therefore took me sometimes to see masons, coopers, brazers, joiners and other mechanics, employed at their work, in order to discover the bent of my inclination, and fix it if he could upon some occupation that might retain me on shore. I have since in consequence of these visits, derived no small pleasure from seeing skilful workmen handle their tools; and it has proved of considerable benefit, to have acquired thereby sufficient knowledge to be able to make little things for myself, when I have had no mechanic at hand, and to construct small machines for my experiments, while the idea I have conceived has been fresh and strongly impressed on my imagination.

My father at length decided that I should be a cutler, and I was placed for some days upon trial with my cousin Samuel, son of my uncle Benjamin, who had learned this trade in London, and had established himself at Boston. But the premium he required for my apprenticeship displeasing my father, I was recalled home.

From my earliest years I had been passionately fond of reading, and laid out in books all the money I could procure. I was particularly pleased with accounts of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's collection in small separate volumes. These I afterwards sold in order to buy an historical collection which consisted of small cheap volumes, amounting in all to about forty or fifty. My father's little library was principally made up of books of practical and polemical theology. I read the greatest part of them. I have since often regretted, that at that time when I had so great a thirst for knowledge, more eligible books had not fallen into my hands, as it was then a point decided that I should not be educated for the church. There was also among my father's books Plutarch's Lives, in which I read continually, and I still regard as advantageously employed the time I devoted to them. I found besides a work of De Fou's, entitled, an Essay on Projects, from which, perhaps, I derived impressions that have since influenced some of the principal events of my life.

My inclination for books at last determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already a son in that profession. My brother had returned from England in 1717, with a press and types, in order to establish a printing-house at Boston. This business pleased me much better than that of my father, though I had still a predilection for the sea.—To prevent the effects which might result from this inclination, my father was impatient to see me engaged with my brother. I held back for some time; at length however I suffered myself to be persuaded, and signed my indentures, being then only twelve years

years of age. It was agreed that I should serve as apprentice to the age of 21, and should receive journeyman's wages only during the last year.

In a very short time I made great proficiency in this business, and became very serviceable to my brother. I had now an opportunity of procuring better books. The acquaintance I necessarily formed with booksellers' apprentices, enabled me to borrow a volume now and then, which I never failed to return punctually and without injury. How often has it happened to me to pass the greater part of the night in reading by my bed-side, when the book had been lent me in the evening, and was to be returned the next morning, lest it might be missed or wanted!

At length, Matthew Adams, an ingenious tradesman, who had a handsome collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me. He invited me to see his library, and had the goodness to lend me any books I was desirous of reading. I then took a strange fancy for poetry, and composed several little pieces. My brother, thinking he might find his account in it, encouraged me and engaged me to write two ballads. One, called the Lighthouse Tragedy, containing an account of the shipwreck of captain Worthilake and his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song on the capture of the noted pirate called Black-Beard. They were wretched verses in point of style, mere blind-men's ditties. When printed, he dispatched me about the town to sell them. The first had a prodigious run, because the event was recent and had made a great noise.

My vanity was flattered by this success; but my father checked my exultation, by ridiculing my productions, and telling me that versifiers were always poor. I thus escaped the misfortune of being probably a very wretched poet. But as the faculty of writing prose has been of great service to me in the course of my life, and principally contributed to my advancement, I shall relate by what means; situated as I was, I acquired the small skill I may possess in that way.

There

There was in the town another young man, a great lover of books, of the name of John Collins, with whom I was intimately connected. We frequently engaged in dispute, and were indeed so fond of argumentation, that nothing was so agreeable to us as a war of words. This contentious temper, I would observe by the bye, is in danger of becoming a very bad habit, and frequently renders a man's company insupportable, as being no otherwise capable of indulgence than by indiscriminate contradiction. Independently of the acrimony and discord it introduces into conversation, it is often productive of dislike, and even hatred, between persons to whom friendship is indispensibly necessary. I acquired it by reading, while I lived with my father, in books of religious controversy. I have since remarked, that men of sense and good education, seldom fall into this error.

Collins and I one day in an argument relative to the education of women, namely, whether it were proper to instruct them in the sciences, and whether they were competent to the study—Collins supported the negative, and affirmed that the task was beyond their capacity. I maintained the opposite opinion, a little perhaps for the pleasure of disputing.—He was naturally more eloquent than I; words flowed copiously from his lips; and frequently I thought myself vanquished, more by his volubility than by the force of his arguments. We separated without coming to an agreement upon this point; and as we were not to see each other again for some time, I committed my thoughts to paper, made a fair copy, and sent it him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters had been written by each, when my father chanced to light upon my papers and read them. Without entering into the merits of the cause, he embraced the opportunity of speaking to me upon my manner of writing. He observed, that though I had the advantage of my adversary in correct spelling and pointing which I owed to my occupation, I was

was greatly his inferior in elegance of expression, in arrangement, and perspicuity. Of this he convinced me by several examples. I felt the justice of his remarks, became more attentive to language, and resolved to make every effort to improve my style.— Amidst these resolves an odd volume of the Spectator fell into my hands. This was a publication I had never seen. I bought the volume, and read it again and again. I was enchanted with it, thought the style excellent, and wished it were in my power to imitate it. With this view I selected some of the papers, made short summaries of the sense of each period; and put them for a few days aside. I then, without looking at the book, endeavoured to restore the essays to their true form, and to express each thought at length, as it was in the original, employing the most appropriate words that occurred to my mind. I afterwards compared my Spectator with the original; I perceived some faults, which I corrected; but I found that I wanted a fund of words, if I may so express myself, and a facility of recollecting and employing them, which I thought I should by that time have acquired, had I continued to make verses. The continual need of words of the same meaning, but of different lengths, for the measure, or of different sounds for the rhyme, would have obliged me to seek for a variety of synonymes, and have rendered me master of them. From this belief, I took some of the tales of the Spectator, and turned them into verse; and after a time, when I had sufficiently forgotten them, I again converted them into prose.

Sometimes, also, I mingled all my summaries together, and a few weeks after, endeavoured to arrange them in the best order, before I attempted to form the periods, and complete the essays. This I did with a view of acquiring method in the arrangement of my thoughts. On comparing, afterwards, my performance with the original, many faults were apparent, which I corrected; but I had sometimes the satisfaction

tion to think, that, in certain particulars of little importance, I had been fortunate enough to improve the order of thought, or the style; and this encouraged me to hope that I should succeed, in time, in writing the English language, which was one of the great objects of my ambition.

The time which I devoted to these exercises, and to reading, was the evening after my day's labour was finished, the morning, before it began, and Sundays, when I could escape attending Divine service. While I lived with my father, he had insisted on my punctual attendance on public worship, and I still consider it as a duty.

When about 16 years of age, a work of Tryon fell into my hands, in which he recommends vegetable diet. I determined to observe it. My brother, being a bachelor, did not keep house, but boarded with his apprentices in a neighbouring family. My refusing to eat animal food was found inconvenient, and I was often scolded for my singularity. I attended to the mode in which Tryon prepared some of his dishes, particularly how to boil potatoes and rice, and make hasty puddings. I then said to my brother, that if he would allow me per week half what he paid for my board, I would undertake to maintain myself. The offer was instantly embraced, and I soon found that of what he gave me, I was able to save half. This was a new fund for the purchase of books, and other advantages resulted to me from the plan. When my brother and his workmen left the printing-house to go to dinner, I remained behind, and dispatched my frugal meal, which frequently consisted of a biscuit only, or a slice of bread and a bunch of raisins, or a bun from the pastry-cook's, with a glass of water; I had the rest of the time, till their return, for study, and my progress therein was proportioned to that clearness of ideas, and quickness of conception, which are the fruit of temperance in eating and drinking.

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It was about this period that, having one day been put to the blush for my ignorance in the art of calculation, which I had twice failed to learn while at school, I took up Cocker's Treatise of Arithmetic, and went through it by myself with the greatest ease; I also read a book of Navigation, by Seller and Sturmy, and made myself master of the little geometry it contains; but I never proceeded far in this science. Nearly at the same time, I read Locke on the Human Understanding, and the Art of Thinking, by Messrs. du Port-Royal.

While labouring to form and improve my style, I met with an English Grammar, which I believe was Greenwood's, having at the end of it two little essays on rhetoric and logic. In the latter I found a model of disputation after the manner of Socrates. Shortly after I procured Xenophon's work, entitled, Memorable Things of Socrates, in which are various examples of the same method. Charmed to a degree of enthusiasm with this mode of disputing, I adopted it, and renouncing blunt contradiction, and direct and positive argument, I assumed the character of a humble questioner. I found Socrates's method to be both the safest for myself, as well as the most embarrassing to those against whom I employed it. It soon afforded me singular pleasure; I incessantly practised it, and became very adroit in obtaining, even from persons of superior understanding, concessions of which they did not foresee the consequences. Thus I involved them in difficulties from which they were unable to extricate themselves, and sometimes obtained victories, which neither my cause nor my arguments merited.

This method I continued to employ for some years; but I afterwards abandoned it by degrees, retaining only the habit of expressing myself with modest diffidence, and never making use, when I advanced any proposition which might be controverted, of the words certainly, undoubtedly, or any others that might give the appearance of being obstinately attached to my

nion. I rather said, I imagine, I suppose, or it appears to me that such a thing is so or so, for such and such reasons ; or, it is so, if I am not mistaken. This habit has, I think, been of considerable advantage to me, when I have had occasion to impress my opinion on the minds of others, and persuade them to the adoption of the measures I have suggested. And since the chief ends of conversation are, to inform or to be informed, to please or to persuade, I could wish that intelligent and well-meaning men would not themselves diminish the powers they possess of being useful, by a positive and presumptuous manner of expressing themselves, which scarcely ever fails to disgust the hearer, and is only calculated to excite opposition, and defeat every purpose for which the faculty of speech has been bestowed upon man. In short, if you wish to inform, a positive and dogmatical manner of advancing your opinion may provoke contradiction, and prevent your being heard with attention. On the other hand, if, with a desire of being informed, and of benefiting by the knowledge of others, you express yourselves as being strongly attached to your own opinions, modest and sensible men, who do not love disputation, will leave you in tranquil possession of your errors. By following such a method, you can rarely hope to please your auditors, conciliate their good will, or work conviction on those whom you may be desirous of gaining over to your views. Pope judiciously observes,

Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown propos'd as things forgot.

And in the same poem he afterwards advises us,
To speak, tho' sure, with seeming diffidence.

He might have added to these lines, one that he has coupled elsewhere, in my opinion, with less propriety. It is this :

For want of modesty is want of sense.

If you ask why I say with less propriety, I must give you the two lines together :

Immodest words admit of no defence,
For want of decency is want of sense.

Now, want of sense, when a man has the misfortune to be so circumstanced, is it not a kind of excuse for want of modesty? And would not the verses have been more accurate, if they had been constructed thus :

Immodest words admit but this defence,
That want of decency is want of sense.

In 1720, or 1721, my brother began to print a new public paper. It was the second that made its appearance in America, and was entitled the New-England Courant. The only one that existed before was the Boston News-Letter. Some of his friends, I remember, would have dissuaded him from this undertaking, as a thing that was not likely to succeed ; a single news-paper being, in their opinion, sufficient for all America. At present, however, in 1777, there are no less than 25.* But he carried his project into execution, and I was employed in distributing the copies to his customers, after having assisted in composing and working them off.

Among his friends he had a number of literary characters, who, as an amusement, wrote short essays for the paper, which gave it reputation and increased its sale. These gentlemen came frequently to our house. I heard the conversation that passed, and the accounts they gave of the favourable reception of their writings with the public. I was tempted to try my hand among them ; but, being still a child as it were, I was fearful that my brother might be unwilling to print in his paper any performance of which he should know me to be the author. I therefore contrived to disguise my hand, and having written an anonymous piece, I placed it at night under the door of the printing-house, where it was found the next morning. My brother communicated it to his friends, when they came as usual to see him, who read it, commented upon it within my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure to find that it met with approbation, and that, in the various conjectures they made respect-

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* In the year 1800, it was computed that there were 180 News-papers in the United States.—See Miller's Retrospect.

ing the author, no one was mentioned who did not enjoy a high reputation in the country for talents and genius. I now supposed myself fortunate in my judges, and began to suspect that they were not such excellent writers as I had hitherto supposed them. Be that as it may, encouraged by this little adventure, I wrote and sent to the press, in the same way many other pieces, which were equally approved; keeping the secret till my slender stock of information and knowledge for such performances was completely exhausted, when I made myself known.

My brother, upon this discovery, began to entertain a little more respect for me; but he still regarded himself as my master, and treated me like an apprentice. He thought himself entitled to the same services from me as from any other person. On the contrary, I conceived that, in many instances, he was too rigorous, and that, on the part of a brother, I had a right to expect greater indulgence. Our disputes were frequently brought before my father, and either my brother was generally in the wrong, or I was the better pleader of the two, for judgment was commonly given in my favour. But my brother was passionate, and often had recourse to blows; a circumstance which I took in very ill part. This severe and tyrannical treatment contributed, I believe, to imprint on my mind that aversion to arbitrary power, which during my whole life I have ever preserved. My apprenticeship became insupportable to me, and I continually sighed for an opportunity of shortening it, which at length unexpectedly offered.

An article inserted in our paper, upon some political subjects which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the Assembly. My brother was taken into custody, censured, and ordered into confinement for a month, because, as I presume, he would not discover the author. I was also taken up, and examined before the Council; but, tho' I gave them no satisfaction, they contented themselves with reprimanding, and then dismissed me; considering me, probably, as bound, in quality of apprentice, to keep my master's secrets.

The imprisonment of my brother kindled my resentment, notwithstanding our private quarrels. During its continuance, the management of the paper was entrusted to me, and I was bold enough to insert some pasquinades against the governors, which highly pleased my brother, while others began to look upon me in an unfavourable point of view, considering me as a young wit, inclined to satire and lampoon.

My brother's enlargement was accompanied with an arbitrary order from the house of Assembly, "That James Franklin should no longer print the newspaper entitled *The New-England Courant*." In this conjuncture, we held a consultation of our friends, at the printing-house, in order to determine what was proper to be done. Some proposed to evade the order, by changing the title of the paper; but my brother, foreseeing inconveniences that would result from this step, thought it better that it should in future be printed in the name of Benjamin Franklin; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, who might charge him with printing the paper himself, under the name of his apprentice, it was resolved that my old indentures should be given up to me, with a full and entire discharge written on the back, in order to be produced upon an emergency; but that, to secure to my brother the benefit of my service, I should sign a new contract, which should be kept secret during the remainder of the term. This was a very shallow arrangement. It was, however, carried into immediate execution, and the paper continued, in consequence, to make its appearance for some months in my name. At length, a new difference arising between my brother and me, I ventured to take advantage of my liberty, presuming that he would not dare to produce the new contract. It was undoubtedly dishonourable to avail myself of this circumstance, and I reckon this action as one of the first errors of my life; but I was little capable of estimating it at its true value, embittered as my mind had been, by the recollection of the blows I had received. Exclusively of his passionate treatment
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of me, my brother was by no means a man of an ill temper, and perhaps my manners had too much of impertinence not to afford it a very natural pretext.

When he knew that it was my determination to quit him, he wished to prevent my finding employment elsewhere. He went to all the printing-houses in the town, and prejudiced the masters against me, who accordingly refused to employ me. The idea then suggested itself to me of going to New-York, the nearest town in which there was a printing-office. Farther reflections confirmed me in the design of leaving Boston, where I had already rendered myself an object of suspicion to the governing party. It was probable, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly in the affair of my brother, that, by remaining, I should soon have been exposed to difficulties, which I had the greater reason to apprehend, as, from my indiscreet disputes upon the subject of religion, I begun to be regarded by pious souls with horror, either as an apostate or an atheist. I came, therefore, to a resolution; but my father, in this instance, siding with my brother, I presumed that if I attempted to depart openly, measures would be taken to prevent me. My friend Collins undertook to favour my flight. He agreed for my passage with the captain of a New-York sloop, to whom he represented me as a young man of his acquaintance, who had an affair with a girl of bad character, whose parents wished to compel me to marry her, and that, of consequence, I could neither make my appearance nor go off publicly. I sold part of my books to procure a small sum of money, and went privately on board the sloop. By favour of a good wind, I found myself in three days at New-York, nearly 300 miles from my home, at the age only of 17 years, without knowing an individual in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

The inclination I had felt for a seafaring life was entirely subsided, or I should now have been able to gratify it; but having another trade, and believing myself to be a tolerable workman, I hesitated not to
offer

offer my services to the old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but had quitted that province on account of a quarrel with George Keith, the Governør. He could not give me employment himself, having little to do, and already as many hands as he wanted; but he told me, that his son, a printer at Philadelphia, had lately lost his principal workman, Aquila Rose, who was dead, and that, if I would go thither, he believed that he would engage me. Philadelphia was 100 miles farther. I hesitated not to embark in a boat in order to repair, by the shortest cut of the sea, to Amboy, leaving my trunk and effects to come after me by the usual and more tedious conveyance. In crossing the bay we met with a squall, which shattered to pieces our rotten sails, prevented us from entering the Kill, and threw us upon Long-Island,

During the squall, a drunken Dutchman, who, like myself, was a passenger in the boat, fell into the sea. I seized him by the fore-top, saved him, and drew him on board. This immersion sobered him a little, so that he fell asleep, after having taken from his pocket a volume, which he requested me to dry. This volume I found to be my old favourite work, Bunyan's *Voyages*, in Dutch, a beautiful impression on fine paper, with copperplate engravings, a dress in which I had never seen it in its original language. I have since learned, that it had been translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and, next to the Bible, I am persuaded it is one of the books which has had the greatest spread. Honest John is the first that I know of who has mixed narrative and dialogue together; a mode of writing very engaging to the reader, who, in the most interesting passages, finds himself admitted, as it were, into the company, and present at the conversation. De Foe has imitated it with success in his *Robinson Crusoe*, his *Moll Flanders*, and other works.

In approaching the island, we found that we had made a part of the coast where it was not possible to
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land, on account of the strong breakers produced by the rocky shore. We cast anchor, and veered the cable toward the shore. Some men, who stood upon the brink, hallooed to us, while we did the same on our part; but the wind was so high, and the waves so noisy, that we could neither of us hear each other. There were some canoes upon the bank, and we called out to them, and made signs to prevail on them to come and take us up; but either they did not understand us, or they deemed our request impracticable, and withdrew. Night came on, and nothing remained for us but to wait the subsiding of the wind; till when we determined, that is, the pilot and I, to sleep if possible. For that purpose, we went below the hatches, along with the Dutchman who was drenched with water. The sea broke over the boat, and reached us in our retreat, so that we were presently as completely drenched as he.

We had very little repose during the whole night; but the wind abating the next day, we succeeded in reaching Amboy before it was dark, after having passed 30 hours without provisions, and with no other drink than a bottle of bad rum, the water upon which we rowed being salt. In the evening I went to bed with a very violent fever. I had somewhere read that cold water, drank plentifully, was a remedy in such cases. I followed the prescription, was in a profuse sweat for the greater part of the night, and the fever left me. The next day I crossed the river in a ferry-boat, and continued my journey on foot. I had fifty miles to walk, in order to reach Burlington, where I was told I should find passage-boats that would convey me to Philadelphia. It rained hard the whole day, so that I was wet to the skin. Finding myself fatigued about noon, I stopped at a paltry inn, where I passed the rest of the day, and the whole night, beginning to regret that I had quitted my home. I made, besides, so wretched a figure, that I was suspected to be some run-away servant. This I discovered by the questions that were asked me, and I felt that I was every moment

ment in danger of being taken up as such. The next day, however, I continued my journey, and arrived in the evening at an inn, 8 or 10 miles from Burlington, that was kept by one Dr. Brown.

This man entered into conversation with me, while I took some refreshment, and perceiving that I had read a little, he expressed towards me considerable interest and friendship. Our acquaintance continued during the remainder of his life. I believe him to have been what is called an itinerant doctor, for there was no town in England, or, indeed in Europe, of which he could not give a particular account.

I spent the night at his house, and reached Burlington the next morning. On my arrival, I had the mortification to learn, that the ordinary passage-boats had sailed a little before. This was on a Saturday, and there would be no other boat till the Tuesday following. I returned to the house of an old woman in the town, who had sold me some gingerbread to eat on my passage, and I asked her advice. She invited me to take up my abode with her till an opportunity offered for me to embark. Fatigued with having travelled so far on foot, I accepted her invitation. When she understood that I was a printer, she would have persuaded me to stay at Burlington, and set up my trade; but she was little aware of the capital that would be necessary for such a purpose. I was treated, while at her house, with true hospitality. She gave me, with the utmost good-will, a dinner of beef-steaks, and would accept of nothing in return but a pint of ale.

Here I imagined myself to be fixed till the Tuesday in the ensuing week; but walking out in the evening, by the river side, I saw a boat, with a number of persons in it, approach. It was going to Philadelphia, and the company took me in. As there was no wind, we could only make way with our oars. About midnight, not perceiving the town, some of the company were of opinion that we must have passed it, and were unwilling to row any farther; the rest not knowing where we were, it was resolved that we should stop. We

drew towards the shore, entered a creek, and landed near some old palisades, which served us for fire-wood, it being a cold night in October. Here we stayed till day, when one of the company found the place in which we were to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which in reality we perceived the moment we were out of the creek. We arrived on Sunday about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning, and landed on Market-street wharf.

I have entered into the particulars of my voyage, and shall, in like manner, describe my first entrance into this city, that you may be able to compare beginnings so little auspicious, with the figure I have since made.

On my arrival at Philadelphia, I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come by sea. I was covered with dirt, my pockets were filled with shirts and stockings, I was unacquainted with a single soul in the place, and knew not where to seek for a lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and having passed the night without sleep, I was extremely hungry, and all my money consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling's worth of coppers, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. As I had assisted them in rowing, they refused it at first, but I insisted on their taking it. A man is sometimes more generous when he has little, than when he has much money, probably because, in the first case, he is desirous of concealing his poverty.

I walked towards the top of the street, looking eagerly on both sides, till I came to Market-street, where I met a child with a loaf of bread. Often had I made my dinner on dry bread. I inquired where he had bought it, and went straight to the baker's shop which he pointed out to me. I asked for some biscuits, expecting to find such as we had at Boston; but they made, it seems, none of that sort in Philadelphia—I then asked for a 3d. loaf; they made no loaves of that price. Finding myself ignorant of the prices as well as of the different kinds of bread, I desired him to let me have threepenny worth of bread of some kind of

other. He gave me three large rolls. I was surprized at receiving so much ; I took them, however, and having no room in my pockets, I walked on with a roll under each arm, eating the third. In this manner I went thro' Market-street to Fourth-street, and passed the house of Mr. Read, the father of my future wife. She was standing at the door, observed me, and tho't, with reason, that I made a very singular and grotesque appearance.

I then turned the corner, and went thro' Chesnut-street, eating my roll all the way ; and having made this round, I found myself again on Market-street wharf, near the boat in which I had arrived. I stepped into it to take a draught of river-water, and finding myself satisfied with my first roll, I gave the other two to a woman and her child, who had come down the river with us in the boat, and was waiting to continue her journey. Thus refreshed, I regained the street, which was now full of well dressed people, all going the same way. I joined them, and was thus led to a large Quakers' meeting-house, near the market-place. I sat down with the rest, and after looking round me for some time, hearing nothing said, and being drowsy from my last night's labour and want of rest, I fell into a sound sleep. In this state I continued till the assembly dispersed, when one of the congregation had the goodness to wake me. This was, consequently, the first house I entered, or in which I slept at Philadelphia.

I began again to walk along the streets by the river side, and looking attentively in the face of every one I met, I at length perceived a young Quaker, whose countenance pleased me. I accosted him, and begged him to inform me where a stranger might find a lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. They receive travellers here, said he, but it is not a house that bears a good character ; if you will go with me, I will shew you a better one. He conducted me to the Crooked Billet, in Water-street.-- There I ordered something for dinner, and, during
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my meal, a number of curious questions were put to me; my youth and appearance exciting the suspicion of my being a run-away. After dinner my drowsiness returned, and I threw myself upon a bed without taking off my clothes, and slept till six in the evening, when I was called to supper. I afterwards went to bed at a very early hour, and did not awake till the next morning.

As soon as I got up, I put myself in as decent a trim as I could, and went to the house of Andrew Bradford, the printer. I found his father in the shop, whom I had seen at New-York. Having travelled on horseback, he had arrived at Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me with civility, and gave me some breakfast; but told me he had no occasion for a journeyman, having lately procured one. He added, that there was another printer newly settled in the town, of the name of Keimer, who might perhaps employ me; and in case of a refusal, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work now and then, till something better should offer.

The old man offered to introduce me to the new printer. When we were at his house, "Neighbour, (said he) I bring you a young man in the printing business, perhaps you may have need of his services."

Keimer asked me some questions, put a composing-stick in my hand to see how I could work, and then said, that at present he had nothing for me to do, but that he should soon be able to employ me. At the same time, taking old Bradford for an inhabitant of the town well disposed towards him, he communicated his project to him, and the prospect he had of success. Bradford was careful not to discover that he was the father of the other printer; and from what Keimer had said, that he hoped shortly to be in possession of the greater part of the business of the town, led him, by artful questions, and by starting some difficulties, to disclose all his views, what his hopes were founded upon, and how he intended to proceed. I was pre-
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sent, and heard it all. I instantly saw that one of the two was a cunning old fox, and the other a perfect novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was strangely surprised when I informed him who the old man was.

I found Keimer's printing materials to consist of an old damaged press, and a small font of worn-out English letters, with which he was himself at work upon an elegy on Aquila Rose, whom I have mentioned above, an ingenious young man, and of an excellent character, highly esteemed in the town, Secretary to the Assembly, and a very tolerable poet. Keimer also made verses, but they were indifferent ones. He could not be said to write in verse, for his method was, to take and set the lines as they flowed from his muse; and, as he worked without copy, had but one set of letter-cases, and the elegy would probably occupy all his type, it was impossible for any one to assist him. I endeavoured to put his press in order, which he had not yet used, and of which indeed he understood nothing; and having promised to come and work off his elegy as soon as it should be ready, I returned to the house of Bradford, who gave me something to do for the present, for which I had my board and lodging.

In a few days Keimer sent for me to print off his elegy. He had now procured another set of letter-cases, and had a pamphlet to re-print, upon which he set me to work.

The two Philadelphia printers appeared destitute of every qualification necessary in their profession. Bradford had not been brought up to it, and was very illiterate. Keimer, tho' he understood a little of the business, was merely a compositor, and wholly incapable of working at press. He had read one of the French prophets, and knew how to imitate their supernatural agitations. At the time of our first acquaintance he professed no particular religion, but a little of all upon occasion. He was totally ignorant of the world, and a great knave at heart, as I had afterwards an opportunity of experiencing.

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Keimer could not endure that, working with him, I should lodge at Bradford's. He had indeed a house, but it was unfurnished, so that he could not take me in. He procured me a lodging at Mr. Read's, his landlord, whom I have already mentioned. My trunk and effects being now arrived, I thought of making, in the eyes of Miss Read, a more respectable appearance than when chance exhibited me to her view, eating my roll, and wandering in the streets.

From this period I began to contract acquaintance with such young people of the town as were fond of reading, and spent my evenings with them agreeably, while, at the same time, I gained money by my industry, and, thanks to my frugality, lived contented. I thus forgot Boston as much as possible, and wished every one to be ignorant of the place of my residence, except my friend Collins, to whom I wrote, and who kept my secret.

An incident however occurred, which sent me home sooner than I had proposed. I had a brother-in-law, of the name of Robert Holmes, master of a trading sloop from Boston to Delaware. Being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, he heard of me, and wrote to inform me of the chagrin which my sudden departure from Boston had occasioned my parents, and of the affection which they still entertained for me, assuring me that, if I would return, every thing should be adjusted to my satisfaction; and he was very pressing in his entreaties. I answered his letter, thanked him for his advice, and explained the reasons which had induced me to quit Boston, with such force and clearness, that he was convinced I had been less to blame than he had imagined.

Sir William Keith, Governor of the province, was at Newcastle at the time. Captain Holmes, being by chance in his company when he received my letter, took occasion to speak of me, and shewed it him. The Governor read it, and appeared surprised when he learned my age. He thought me, he said, a young man of very promising talents, and that, of consequence,

quence, I ought to be encouraged; that there were at Philadelphia none but very ignorant printers, and that if I were to set up for myself, he had no doubt of my success; that, for his own part, he would procure me all the public business, and would render me every other service in his power. My brother-in-law related all this to me afterwards at Boston, but I knew nothing of it at the time; when one day, Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we saw the Governor and another gentleman, Colonel French, of Newcastle, handsomely dressed, cross the street, and make directly for our house. We heard them at the door, and Keimer, believing it to be a visit to himself, went immediately down; but the Governor inquired for me, came up stairs, and, with a condescension and politeness to which I had not at all been accustomed, paid me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me, obligingly reproached me for not having made myself known to him on my arrival in the town, and wished me to accompany him to a tavern, where he and Colonel French were going to taste some excellent Madeira wine.

I was, I confess, somewhat surprized, and Keimer appeared thunderstruck. I went, however, with the Governor and the Colonel to a tavern at the corner of Third-street, where, while we were drinking the Madeira, he proposed to me to establish a printing-house. He set forth the probabilities of success, and himself and Colonel French assured me, that I should have their protection and influence in obtaining the printing of the public papers of both Governments; and as I appeared to doubt whether my father would assist me in this enterprise, Sir William said that he would give me a letter to him, in which he would represent the advantages of the scheme in a light which he had no doubt would determine him. It was thus concluded, that I should return to Boston by the first vessel, with the letter of recommendation from the Governor to my father. Meanwhile the project was to be kept secret, and I continued to work for Keimer as before.

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The Governor sent every now and then to invite me to dine with him. I considered this as a very great honour, and I was the more sensible of it, as he conversed with me in the most affable, familiar, and friendly manner imaginable.

Towards the end of April, 1724, a small vessel was ready to sail for Boston. I took leave of Keimer, upon the pretext of going to see my parents. The Governor gave me a long letter, in which he said many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommended the project of my settling at Philadelphia, as a thing which could not fail to make my fortune.

Going down the bay, we struck on a flat, and sprung a leak. The weather was very tempestuous, and we were obliged to pump without intermission; I took my turn. We arrived, however, safe and sound at Boston, after about a fortnight's passage.

I had been absent seven complete months, and my relations, during that interval, had received no intelligence of me, for my brother-in-law, Holmes, was not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprised the family, but they were all delighted at seeing me again, and, except my brother, welcomed me home. I went to him at the printing-office. I was better-dressed than I had ever been while in his service; I had a complete suit of clothes, new and neat, a watch in my pocket, and my purse was furnished with nearly 5*l.* sterling in money. He gave me no very civil reception, and having eyed me from head to foot, resumed his work.

The workmen asked me with eagerness where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I liked it. I spoke in the highest terms of Philadelphia, the happy life we led there, and expressed my intention of going back again. One of them asked what sort of money we had; I displayed before them a handful of silver, which I drew from my pocket. This was a curiosity to which they were not accustomed, paper being the current money at Boston. I failed

not after this to let them see my watch; and at last, my brother continuing sullen and out of humour, I gave them a shilling to drink, and took my leave. This visit stung my brother to the soul, for when, shortly after, my mother spoke to him of a reconciliation, and a desire of seeing us upon good terms, he told her that I had so insulted him before his men, that he never would forget or forgive it; in this, however, he was mistaken.

The Governor's letter appeared to excite in my father some surprize, but he said little. After some days, Captain Holmes being returned, he shewed it him, asking him if he knew Keith, and what sort of a man he was; adding, that, in his opinion, it proved very little discernment to think of setting up a boy in business, who for three years to come would not be of an age to be ranked in the class of men. Holmes said every thing he could in favour of the scheme; but my father firmly maintained its absurdity, and at last gave a positive refusal. He wrote, however, a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the protection he had so obligingly offered me, but refusing to assist me for the present, because he thought me too young to be intrusted with the conduct of so important an enterprise, and which would require so considerable a sum of money.

My old comrade Collins, who was a clerk in the post-office, charmed with the account I gave of my new residence, expressed a desire of going thither; and, while I waited my father's determination, he set off before me, by land, for Rhode-Island, leaving his books, which formed a handsome collection in mathematics and natural philosophy, to be conveyed with mine to New-York, where he purposed to wait for me.

My father, tho' he could not approve Sir William's proposal, was yet pleased that I had obtained so advantageous a recommendation as that of a person of his rank; and that my industry and economy had enabled me to equip myself so handsomely in so short a

period. Seeing no appearance of accommodating matters between my brother and me, he consented to my return to Philadelphia, advised me to be civil to every body, to endeavour to obtain general esteem, and avoid satire and sarcasm, to which he tho't I was too much inclined; adding, that with perseverance and prudent economy, I might, by the time I became of age, save enough to establish myself in business; and that if a small sum should then be wanting, he would undertake to supply it.

This was all I could obtain from him, except some trifling presents, in token of friendship, from him and my mother. I embarked once more for New-York, furnished at this time with their approbation and blessing. The sloop having touched at Newport in Rhode-Island, I paid a visit to my brother John, who had for some years been settled there, and was married. He had always been attached to me, and received me with great affection. One of his friends, whose name was Vernon, having a debt of about 36*l.* due to him in Pennsylvania, begged me to receive it for him, and keep the money till I should hear from him; accordingly he gave me an order for that purpose. This affair occasioned me, in the sequel, much uneasiness.

At Newport we took on board a number of passengers, among whom were two young women, and a grave and sensible Quaker lady, with her servants. I had shown an obliging forwardness in rendering the Quaker some trifling services, which led her, probably, to feel some interest in my welfare; for when she saw a familiarity take place, and every day increase, between the two young women and me, she took me aside, and said, "Young man, I am in pain for thee. Thou hast no parent to watch over thy conduct, and thou seemest to be ignorant of the world, and the snares to which youth is exposed. Rely upon what I tell thee; these are women of bad characters; I perceive it in all their actions. If thou dost not take care, they will lead thee into danger. They are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, by the friendly
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interest I take in thy preservation, to form no connection with them." As I appeared at first not to think quite so ill of them as she did, she related many things she had seen and heard, which had escaped my attention, but which convinced me she was in the right. I thanked her for her obliging advice, and promised to follow it.

When we arrived at New-York, they informed me where they lodged, and invited me to come and see them. I did not, however, go, and it was well I did not; for, the next day, the captain missing a silver spoon, and some other things which had been taken from the cabin, and knowing these women to be prostitutes, procured a search-warrant, found the stolen goods upon them, and had them punished. And thus, after having been saved from one rock concealed under water, upon which the vessel struck during our passage, I escaped another of a still more dangerous nature.

At New-York I found my friend Collins, who had arrived some time before. We had been intimate from our infancy, and had read the same books together; but he had the advantage of being able to devote more time to reading and study, and an astonishing disposition for mathematics, in which he left me far behind. When at Boston, I had been accustomed to pass with him almost all my leisure hours. He was then a sober and industrious lad; his knowledge had gained him a very general esteem, and he seemed to promise to make an advantageous figure in society. But, during my absence, he had unfortunately addicted himself to brandy, and I learned, as well from himself as from the report of others, that every day since his arrival at New-York he had been intoxicated, and had acted in a very extravagant manner. He had also played, and lost all his money, so that I was obliged to pay all his expences at the inn, and to maintain him during the rest of the journey; a burden that was very inconvenient to me.

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The Governor of New-York, whose name was Burnet, hearing the captain say that a young man who was a passenger in his ship had a great number of books, begged him to bring me to his house. I accordingly went, and should have taken Collins with me had he been sober. The Governor treated me with great civility, shewed me his library, which was a very considerable one, and we talked for some time upon books and authors. This was the second Governor who had honoured me with his attention; and to a poor boy, as I then was, these little adventures did not fail to be pleasing.

We arrived at Philadelphia. On the way I received Vernon's money, without which we should have been unable to have finished our journey.

Collins wished to get employment as a merchant's clerk, but either his breath or his countenance betrayed his bad habit; for, tho' he had recommendations, he met with no success, and continued to eat and lodge with me, and at my expence. Knowing that I had Vernon's money he was continually asking me to lend him some of it, promising to repay me as soon as he should get employment. At last, he had drawn so much of this money, that I was extremely alarmed at what might become of me, should he fail to make good the deficiency. His habit of drinking did not at all diminish, and was a frequent source of discord between us; for, when he had drank a little too much, he was very headstrong.

Being one day in a boat together, on the Delaware, with some other young persons, he refused to take his turn in rowing. You shall row for me, said he, till we get home. No, I replied, we will not row for you. You shall, said he, or remain upon the water all night.—As you please.—Let us row, said the rest of the company; what signifies whether he assists or not. But, already angry with him for his conduct in other respects, I persisted in my refusal. He then swore he would make me row, or would throw me out of the boat; and he made up to me. As soon as he

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was within my reach, I took him by the collar, gave him a violent thrust, and threw him head-foremost into the river. I knew that he was a good swimmer, and was therefore under no apprehensions for his life.

Before he could turn himself, we were able, by a few strokes of our oars, to place ourselves out of his reach; and whenever he touched the boat, we asked him if he would row, striking his hands with the oars to make him let go his hold. He was nearly suffocated with rage, but obstinately refused making any promise to row. Perceiving at length that his strength began to be exhausted, we took him into the boat, and conveyed him home in the evening, completely drenched. The utmost coldness subsisted between us after this adventure. At last, the captain of a West-India ship, who was commissioned to procure a tutor for the children of a gentleman at Barbadoes, meeting with Collins, offered him the place. He accepted it, and took his leave of me, promising to discharge the debt he owed me with the first money he should receive; but I have heard nothing of him since.

The violation of the trust reposed in me by Vernon, was one of the first great errors of my life; and it proves that my father was not mistaken when he supposed me too young to be intrusted with the management of important affairs. But, Sir William, upon reading his letter, thought him too prudent. There was a difference, he said, between individuals; years of maturity were not always accompanied with discretion, neither was youth in every instance devoid of it. Since your father, added he, will not set you up in business, I will do it myself. Make out a list of what will be wanted from England, and I will send for the articles. You shall repay me when you can. I am determined to have a good printer here, and I am sure you will succeed. This was said with so much seeming cordiality, that I suspected not for an instant the sincerity of the offer. I had hitherto kept the project, with which Sir William had inspired me, of settling in business, a secret at Philadelphia, and I still continued

nued to do so. Had my reliance on the Governor been known, some friends, better acquainted with his character than myself, would doubtless have advised me not to trust him; for I afterwards learned that he was universally known to be liberal of promises, which he had no intention to perform. But having never solicited him, how could I suppose his offers to be deceitful? On the contrary, I believed him to be the best man in the world.

I gave him an inventory of a small printing-office, the expence of which I had calculated at about 100*l*. sterling. He expressed his approbation; but asked if my presence in England, that I might choose the characters myself, and see that every article was good in its kind, would not be an advantage? You will also be able, said he, to form some acquaintance there, and establish a correspondence with stationers and book-sellers. This I acknowledged was desirable. That being the case, added he, hold yourself in readiness to go with the *Annis*. This was the annual vessel, and the only one, at that time, which made regular voyages between the ports of London and Philadelphia. But the *Annis* was not to sail for some months. I therefore continued to work with Keimer, unhappy respecting the sum which Collins had drawn from me, and almost in continual agony at the thoughts of Vernon, who fortunately made no demand of his money till several years after.

In the account of my first voyage from Boston to Philadelphia, I omitted, I believe, a trifling circumstance, which will not perhaps be out of place here. During a calm which stopped us above Block-Island, the crew employed themselves in fishing for cod, of which they caught a great number. I had hitherto adhered to my resolution of not eating any thing that had possessed life; and I considered on this occasion, agreeably to the maxims of my master Tryon, the capture of every fish as a sort of murder, committed without provocation, since these animals had neither done, nor were capable of doing, the smallest injury
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to any one that should justify the measure. This mode of reasoning I conceived to be unanswerable. Meanwhile I had formerly been extremely fond of fish, and when one of these cod was taken out of the frying-pan, I thought its flavour delicious. I hesitated some time between principle and inclination, till at last recollecting, that when the cod had been opened, some small fish had been found in his belly, I said to myself, if you eat one another, I see no reason why we may not eat you. I accordingly dined on the cod, with no small degree of pleasure, and have since continued to eat like the rest of mankind, returning only occasionally to my vegetable plan.

I continued to live upon good terms with Keimer, who had not the smallest suspicion of my intended establishment. He still retained a portion of his former enthusiasm, and, being fond of argument, we frequently disputed together. I was so much in the habit of using my Socratic method, and had so frequently puzzled him by my questions, which appeared at first very distant from the point in debate, yet, nevertheless, led to it by degrees, involving him in difficulties and contradictions from which he was unable to extricate himself, that he became at last ridiculously cautious, and would scarcely answer the most plain and familiar question without previously asking me, What would you infer from that? Hence he formed so high an opinion of my talents for refutation, that he seriously proposed to me to become his colleague in the establishment of a new religious sect. He was to propagate the doctrine by preaching, and I to refute every opponent.

When he explained to me his tenets, I found many absurdities which I refused to admit, unless he would agree in turn to adopt some of my opinions. Keimer wore his beard long, because Moses had somewhere said, "Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard." He likewise observed the Sabbath, and these were with him two very essential points. I consented to adopt them, provided he would abstain
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from animal food. I doubt, said he, whether my constitution will be able to support it. I assured him, on the contrary, that he would find himself the better for it. He was naturally a glutton, and I wished to amuse myself by starving him. He consented to make trial of this regimen, if I would bear him company, and in reality we continued it for three months. A woman in the neighbourhood prepared and brought us our victuals, to whom I gave a list of 40 dishes, in the composition of which there entered neither flesh nor fish. This fancy was the more agreeable to me, as it turned to good account, for the whole expence of our living did not exceed for each eighteen pence a week.

I continued it cheerfully, but poor Keimer suffered terribly. Tired of the project, he sighed for "the flesh-pots of Egypt." At length he ordered a roast pig, and invited me and two of our female acquaintance to dine with him; but the pig being ready a little too soon, he could not resist the temptation, and eat it all up before we arrived.

During the circumstances I have related, I had paid some attentions to Miss Read. I entertained for her the utmost esteem and affection; and I had reason to believe that these sentiments were mutual. But we were both young, scarcely more than 18 years of age; and I was on the point of undertaking a long voyage, her mother thought it prudent to prevent matters being carried too far for the present, judging that if marriage was our object, there would be more propriety in it after my return, when, as at least I expected, I should be established in my business. Perhaps, also, she thought that my expectations were not so well founded as I imagined.

My most intimate acquaintance at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph. It was a custom with us to take a walk on Sundays in the woods that bordered on the Schuylkill. Here we read together, and afterwards conversed on what we read. Ralph was disposed to give himself up entirely to poetry. He flattered himself that he should arrive

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at great eminence in the art, and even acquire a fortune. The sublimest poets, he pretended, when they first began to write, committed as many faults as himself. Osborne endeavoured to dissuade him from it by assuring him that he had no genius for poetry, and advised him to stick to the trade in which he had been brought up. In the road of commerce, said he, you will be sure, by diligence and assiduity, tho' you have no capital, of so far succeeding as to be employed as a factor, and may thus, in time, acquire the means of setting up for yourself. I concurred in these sentiments, but at the same time expressed my approbation of amusing ourselves sometimes with poetry, with a view to improve our style. In consequence of this it was proposed, that, at our next meeting, each of us should bring a copy of verses of his own composition. Our object in this competition was, to benefit each other by our mutual remarks, criticisms and corrections; and, as style and expression were all we had in view, we excluded every idea of invention, by agreeing that our task should be a version of the 18th psalm, in which is described the descent of the Deity.

The time of our meeting drew near, when Ralph called upon me, and told me his piece was ready. I informed him that I had been idle, and, not much liking the task, had done nothing. He shewed me his piece, and asked what I thought of it. I expressed myself in terms of warm approbation, because it really appeared to have considerable merit. He then said, Osborne will never acknowledge the smallest degree of excellence in any production of mine. Envy alone dictates to him a thousand animadversions. Of you he is not so jealous; I wish, therefore, you would take the verses, and produce them as your own. I will pretend not to have had leisure to write any thing. We shall then see in what manner he will speak of them. I agreed to this little artifice, and immediately transcribed the verses, to prevent all suspicion.

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We met. Watson's performance was the first that was read. It had some beauties, but many faults. We next read Osborne's, which was much better. Ralph did it justice, remarking a few imperfections, and applauding such parts as were excellent. He had himself nothing to show. It was now my turn. I made some difficulty, seemed as if I wished to be excused, pretended that I had no time to make corrections, &c. No excuse, however, was admissible, and the piece must be produced. It was read and re-read. Watson and Osborne immediately resigned the palm, and united in applauding it. Ralph alone made a few remarks, and proposed some alterations; but I defended my text. Osborne agreed with me, and told Ralph he was no more able to criticise than he was able to write.

When Osborne was alone with me, he expressed himself still more strongly in favour of what he considered as my performance. He pretended that he had put some constraint on himself before, apprehensive of my construing his commendation into flattery. But who would have supposed, said he, Franklin to be capable of such a composition? What painting, what energy, what fire! He has surpassed the original! In his common conversation he appears not to have choice of words; he hesitates, and is at a loss; and yet, good God, how he writes!

At our next meeting, Ralph discovered the trick we had played Osborne, who was rallied without mercy.

The Governor appeared to be fond of my company, and frequently invited me to his house. He always spoke of his intention of settling me in business, as a point that was decided. I was to take with me letters of recommendation to a number of friends, and particularly a letter of credit, in order to obtain the necessary sum for the purchase of my press, types and paper. He appointed various times for me to come for these letters, which would certainly be ready; and when I came, always put me off to another day.

These successive delays continued till the vessel, whose departure had been several times deferred, was

on the point of setting sail, when I again went to Sir William's house, to receive my letters and take leave of him. I saw his secretary, Dr. Bard, who told me that the Governor was extremely busy writing, but that he would be down at Newcastle before the vessel, and that the letters would be delivered to me there.

Ralph, tho' he was married, and had a child, determined to accompany me in this voyage. His object was supposed to be, the establishing a correspondence with some mercantile houses, in order to sell goods by commission; but I afterwards learned, that, having reason to be dissatisfied with the parents of his wife, he proposed to himself to leave her on their hands, and never to return to America again.

Having taken leave of my friends, and interchanged promises of fidelity with Miss Read, I quitted Philadelphia. At Newcastle the vessel came to anchor. The Governor was arrived, and I went to his lodgings. His secretary received me with great civility, told me, on the part of the Governor, that he could not see me then, as he was engaged in affairs of the utmost importance; but that he would send the letters on board, and that he wished me, with all his heart, a good voyage and speedy return. I returned somewhat astonished, but still without entertaining the slightest suspicion.

Mr. Hamilton, a celebrated barrister of Philadelphia, had taken a passage to England for himself and his son; and, in conjunction with Mr. Denham, a Quaker, and Messrs. Oniam and Russel, proprietors of a forge in Maryland, had agreed for the whole cabin, so that Ralph and I were obliged to take up our lodging with the crew. Being unknown to every body in the ship, we were looked upon as the common order of people; but Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, who was afterwards Governor) left us at Newcastle, and returned to Philadelphia, whither he was recalled, at a very great expense, to plead the cause of a vessel that had been seized; and just as we were about to sail, Colonel Finch came on board, and shewed me
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many civilities. The passengers, upon this, paid me more attention, and I was invited, together with my friend Ralph, to occupy the place in the cabin which the return of the Mr. Hamiltons had made vacant, an offer which we very readily accepted.

Having learned that the dispatches of the Governor had been brought on board by Colonel Finch, I asked the captain for the letters that were to be intrusted to my care. He told me that they were all put together in the bag, which he could not open at present; but before we reached England, he would give me an opportunity of taking them out. I was satisfied with this answer, and we pursued our voyage.

The company in the cabin were all very sociable, and we were perfectly well off as to provisions, as we took the advantage of the whole of Mr. Hamilton's, who had laid in a very plentiful stock. During the passage, Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me, which ended only with his life: in other respects, the voyage was by no means an agreeable one, as we had much bad weather.

When we arrived in the river Thames, the captain was as good as his word, and allowed me to search the bag for the Governor's letters. I could not find a single one with my name written on it, as committed to my care; but I selected six or seven, which I judged, from the direction, to be those that were intended for me, particularly one to Mr. Basket, the King's printer, and another to a stationer, who was the first person I called upon. I delivered him the letter as coming from Governor Keith. "I have no acquaintance (said he) with any such person;" and opening the letter, "Oh, it is from Riddlesden, (he exclaimed) I have lately discovered him to be a very arrant knave, and I wish to have nothing to do either with him or his letters." He instantly put the letter in my hand turned upon his heel, and left me serve some customers.

I was astonished at finding these letters were not from the Governor. Reflecting, and putting circumstances,

stances together, I then began to doubt his sincerity. I rejoined my friend Denham, and related the whole affair to him. He let me at once into Keith's character, told me there was not the least probability of his having written a single letter; that no one who knew him ever placed any reliance on him, and laughed at my credulity in supposing that the Governor would give me a letter of credit, when he had no credit for himself. As I shewed some uneasiness respecting what step I should take, he advised me to try to get employment in the house of some printer. You may there, said he, improve yourself in business, and you will be able to settle yourself the more advantageously when you return to America.

But what are we to think of a Governor who could play so scurvy a trick, and thus grossly deceive a poor young lad, wholly destitute of experience? It was a practice with him. Wishing to please every body, and having little to bestow, he was lavish of promises. He was, in other respects, sensible and judicious, a very tolerable writer, and a good Governor for the people, tho' not so for the proprietaries, whose instructions he frequently disregarded. Many of our best laws were his work, and established during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took a lodging together at three shillings and six-pence a week, which was as much as we could afford. He met with some relations in London, but they were poor, and not able to assist him. He now, for the first time, informed me of his intention to remain in England, and that he had no thoughts of ever returning to Philadelphia. He was totally without money, the little he had been able to raise having barely sufficed for his passage. I had still 15 pistoles remaining, and to me he had from time to time recourse, while he tried to get employment.

At first, believing himself possessed of talents for the stage, he thought of turning actor; but Wilkes, to whom he applied, frankly advised him to renounce
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the idea, as it was impossible to succeed. He next proposed to Roberts, a bookseller in Pater-noster-Row, to write a weekly paper in the manner of the Spectator, upon terms to which Roberts would not listen. Lastly, he endeavoured to procure employment as a copyist, and applied to the lawyers and stationers about the Temple, but he could find no vacancy.

As to myself, I immediately got engaged at Palmer's, at that time a noted printer in Bartholomew-Close, with whom I continued nearly a year. I applied very assiduously to my work, but I expended with Ralph almost all that I earned. Plays, and other places of amusement, which we frequented together, having exhausted my pistoles, we lived after this from hand to mouth. He appeared to have entirely forgotten his wife and child, as I also, by degrees, forgot my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that merely to inform her that I was not likely to return soon. This was another grand error of my life, which I should be desirous of correcting, were I to begin my career again.

I was employed at Palmer's on the second edition of Woolaston's Religion of Nature. Some of his arguments appearing to me not to be well founded, I wrote a small metaphysical treatise, in which I animadverted on those passages. It was entitled, A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain. I dedicated it to my friend Ralph, and printed a small number of copies. Palmer upon this treated me with more consideration, and regarded me as a young man of talents, though he seriously took me to task for the principles of my pamphlet, which he looked upon as abominable. The printing of this work was another error of my life.

While I lodged in Little Britain, I formed an acquaintance with a bookseller of the name of Wilcox, whose shop was next door to me. Circulating libraries were not then in use. He had an immense collection of books of all sorts. We agreed that, for a reasonable retribution, of which I have now forgotten the

the price, I should have free access to his library, and take what books I pleased, which I was to return when I had read them. I considered this agreement as a very great advantage, and I derived from it as much benefit as was in my power.

My pamphlet falling into the hands of a surgeon, of the name of Lyons, author of a book entitled, *Infallibility of Human Judgment*, was the occasion of a considerable intimacy between us. He expressed great esteem for me, came frequently to see me, in order to converse upon metaphysical subjects, and introduced me to Dr. Mandeville, author of the *Fables of the Bees*, who had instituted a club at a tavern in Cheapside, of which he was the soul; he was a facetious and very amusing character. He also introduced me, at Batson's Coffee-house, to Dr. Pemberton, who promised to give me an opportunity of seeing Sir Isaac Newton, which I very ardently desired, but he never kept his word.

I had brought some curiosities from America, the principal of which was a purse made of the asbestos, which fire only purifies. Sir Hans Sloane hearing of it, called upon me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury-square, where, after shewing me every thing that was curious, he prevailed on me to add this piece to his collection, for which he paid me very handsomely.

I now began to think of laying by some money. The printing-house of Watts, near Lincoln's Inn-Fields, being a still more considerable one than that in which I worked, it was probable I might find it more advantageous to be employed there. I offered myself, and was accepted, and in this house I continued during the remainder of my stay in London.

On my entrance, I worked at first as a press-man, conceiving that I had need of bodily exercise, to which I had been accustomed in America, where the printers work alternately as compositors and at the press. I drank nothing but water. The other workmen, to the amount of about 50, were great drinkers of beer.

I carried, occasionally, a large form of letters in each hand up and down stairs, while the rest employed both hands to carry one. They were surprised to see, by this and many other examples, that the *American Aquatic*, as they used to call me, was stronger than those who drank porter. The beer-boy had sufficient employment during the whole day in serving that house alone. My fellow press-man drank every day a pint of beer before breakfast, a pint with bread and cheese for breakfast, one between breakfast and dinner, one at dinner, one again about 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and another after he had finished his day's work. This custom appeared to me abominable; but he had need, he said, of all this beer, in order to acquire strength to work.

I endeavoured to convince him that bodily strength furnished by beer, could only be in proportion to the solid part of the barley dissolved in the water of which the beer was composed; that there was a larger portion of flour in a penny-loaf, and that consequently if he eat this loaf, and drank a pint of water with it, he would derive more strength from it than from a pint of beer. This reasoning, however, did not prevent him from drinking his accustomed quantity of beer, and paying every Saturday night a score of four or five shillings a week for this beverage; an expence from which I was totally exempt. Thus do these poor devils continue all their lives in a state of voluntary wretchedness and poverty.

At the end of a few weeks, Watts having occasion for me above stairs as a compositor, I quitted the press. The compositors demanded of me garnish-money afresh. This I considered as an imposition, already paid below. The master was of the same opinion, and desired me not to comply. I thus remained two or three weeks out of the fraternity. I was consequently looked upon as excommunicated, and whenever I was absent, no little trick that malice could suggest was left unpractised upon me. I found my letters mixed, my pages transposed, my matter broken, &c.

&c. &c. all which was attributed to the spirit that haunted the Chapel,* and tormented those who were not regularly admitted. I was at last obliged to submit to pay, notwithstanding the protection of the master; convinced of the folly of not keeping up a good understanding with those among whom we were destined to live.

After this, I lived in the utmost harmony with my fellow-labourers, and soon acquired considerable influence among them. I proposed some alterations in the laws of the Chapel, which I carried without opposition. My example prevailed with several of them to renounce their abominable practice of bread and cheese with beer; and they procured, like me, from a neighbouring house, a good bason of warm gruel, in which was a small slice of butter, with toasted bread and nutmeg. This was a much better breakfast, which did not cost more than a pint of beer, namely, three-half-pence, and at the same time preserved the head clearer. Those who continued to gorge themselves with beer, often lost their credit with the publican, from neglecting to pay their score. They had then recourse to me, to become security for them, their light, as they used to call it, being out. I attended at the pay-table every Saturday evening, to take up the little sum which I had made myself answerable for, and which sometimes amounted to near 30 shillings a week.

This circumstance, added to my reputation of being a good *gabber*, or, in other words, skilful in the art of burlesque, kept up my importance in the chapel. I had, beside, recommended myself to the esteem of my master, by my assiduous application to business, never observing *Saint Monday*. My extraordinary quickness in composing always procured me such work as was most urgent, and which is commonly best paid; and thus my time passed away in a very pleasant manner.

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My

* Printing-houses, in general, are thus denominated by the workmen, as the first office set up in England, by Caxton, was in a Chapel in Westminster.—The spirit they call Ralph.

My lodging in Little Britain being too far from the printing-house, I took another in Duke-street, opposite the Roman Chapel. It was the back of an Italian warehouse. The house was kept by a widow, who had a daughter, a servant, and a shop-boy, but the latter slept out of the house. After sending to the people with whom I lodged in Little Britain, to inquire into my character, she agreed to take me at the same price, three-and-sixpence a week, contenting herself, she said, with so little, because of the security she would derive, as they were all women, from having a man to lodge in the same house.

She was a woman rather advanced in life, the daughter of a clergyman. She had been educated a Protestant, but her husband, whose memory she highly revered, had converted her to the Catholic religion. She had lived in habits of intimacy with persons of distinction, of whom she knew various anecdotes as far back as the time of Charles II. Being subject to fits of the gout, which often confined her to her room, she was sometimes disposed to see company. Hers was so amusing to me, that I was glad to pass the evening with her as often as she desired it. Our supper consisted only of half an anchovy a-piece, upon a slice of bread and butter, with half a pint of ale between us. But the entertainment was in her conversation.

The early hours I kept, and the little trouble I occasioned in the family, made her loth to part with me, and when I mentioned another lodging I had found, nearer the printing-house, at two shillings a week, which fell in with my plan of saving, she persuaded me to give it up, making herself an abatement of two shillings; and thus I continued to lodge with her, during the remainder of my abode in London, at eighteen-pence a week.

At the printing-house I contracted an intimacy with a sensible young man, of the name of Wygate, who, as his parents were in good circumstances, had received a better education than is common with printers.

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He was a tolerable Latin scholar, spoke French fluently, and was fond of reading. I taught him, as well as a friend of his, to swim, by taking them twice only in the river, after which they stood in need of no farther assistance. We one day made a party to go by water to Chelsea, in order to see the College, and Don Saltero's curiosities. On our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I undressed myself, and leaped into the river. I swam from near Chelsea the whole way to Blackfriars-Bridge, exhibiting, during my course, a variety of feats of activity and address, both upon the surface of the water, as well as under it. This sight occasioned much astonishment and pleasure to those to whom it was new. In my youth I took great delight in this exercise. I knew, and could execute, all the evolutions and positions of Thevenot, and I added to them some of my own invention, in which I endeavoured to unite gracefulness and utility. I took a pleasure in displaying them all upon this occasion, and was highly flattered with the admiration they excited.

Wygate, besides being desirous of perfecting himself in this art, was the more attached to me from there being, in other respects, a conformity in our tastes and studies. He at length proposed to me to make the tour of Europe with him, maintaining ourselves at the same time by working at our profession. I was on the point of consenting, when I mentioned it to my friend Denham, with whom I was glad to pass an hour whenever I had leisure. He dissuaded me from the project, and advised me to return to Philadelphia, which he was about to do himself. I must relate in this place a trait of this worthy man's character: —

He had formerly been in business at Bristol, but failing, he compounded with his creditors, and departed for America, where, by assiduous application as a merchant, he acquired in a few years a very considerable fortune. Returning to England in the same

vessel with myself, as I have related above, he invited all his old creditors to a feast. When assembled, he thanked them for the readiness with which they had received his small composition; and while they expected nothing more than a simple entertainment, each found under his plate, when it came to be removed, a draft upon a banker for the residue of his debt, with interest.

He told me it was his intention to carry back with him to Philadelphia a great quantity of goods, in order to open a store; and he offered to take me with him in the capacity of a clerk, to keep his books, in which he would instruct me, copy letters, and superintend the store. He added, that, as soon as I had acquired a knowledge of mercantile transactions, he would improve my situation, by sending me with a cargo of corn and flour to the American islands, and other lucrative commissions; so that, with good management and economy, I might, in time, begin business with advantage for myself.

I relished these proposals.—London began to tire me; the agreeable hours I had passed at Philadelphia presented themselves to my mind, and I wished to see them revive. I consequently engaged myself to Mr. Denham, at a salary of 50*l.* a-year. This was indeed less than I earned as a compositor; but then I had a fairer prospect. I took leave, therefore, as I believed, for ever, of printing, and gave myself up entirely to my new occupation, spending all my time either in going from house to house with Mr. Denham, to purchase goods, or in packing them up, or in expediting the workmen, &c. &c. When every thing, however, was on board, I had at last a few days leisure.

During this interval, I was one day sent for by a gentleman, whom I knew only by name. It was Sir William Wyndham. I went to his house. He had, by some means, heard of my performances between Chelsea and Blackfriars, and that I had taught the art of swimming to Wygate and another young man in
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the course of a few hours. His two sons were on the point of setting out on their travels; he was desirous that they should previously learn to swim, and offered me a very liberal reward if I would undertake to instruct them. They were not yet arrived in town, and the stay I should make myself was uncertain. I could not, therefore, accept his proposal. I was led, however, to suppose, from this incident, that if I had wished to remain in London, and open a swimming school, I should perhaps have gained a great deal of money. This idea struck me so forcibly, that, had the offer been made sooner, I should have dismissed the thoughts of returning as yet to America. Some years after, you and I had a more important business to settle with one of the sons of Sir William Wyndham, then Lord Egremont.—But let us not anticipate events.

I thus passed about 18 months in London, working almost without intermission at my trade, avoiding all expence on my own account, except going now and then to the play, and purchasing a few books. But my friend Ralph kept me poor. He owed me about 27*l.* which was so much money lost, and when considered as taken from my little savings, was a very great sum. I had, notwithstanding this, a regard for him, as he possessed many amiable qualities. But tho' I had done nothing for myself in point of fortune, I had increased my stock of knowledge, either by the many excellent books I had read, or the conversation of learned and literary persons with whom I was acquainted.

We sailed from Gravesend the 23d of July, 1726, and landed at Philadelphia on the 11th of the following October.

Keith had been deprived of his office of Governor, and was succeeded by Major Gordon. I met him walking in the streets as a private individual. He appeared a little ashamed at seeing me, but passed on without saying any thing.

I should have been equally ashamed myself at meeting Miss Read, had not her family, justly despairing
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of my return after reading my letter, advised her to give me up, and marry a potter, of the name of Rogers, to which she consented ; but he never made her happy, and she soon separated from him, refusing to cohabit with him, or even bear his name, on account of a report which prevailed, of his having another wife. His skill in his profession had seduced Miss Read's parents ; but he was as bad a subject as he was excellent as a workman. He involved himself in debt, and fled, in the year 1727 or 1728, to the West Indies, where he died.

Mr. Denham took a warehouse in Water-street, where we exhibited our commodities. I applied myself closely, studied accounts, and became in a short time very expert in trade. We lodged and eat together. He was sincerely attached to me, and acted towards me as if he had been my father. On my side, I respected and loved him. My situation was happy, but it was a happiness of no long duration.

Early in February, 1727, when I entered into my 22d year, we were both taken ill. I was attacked with a pleurisy, which had nearly carried me off ; I suffered terribly, and considered it as all over with me. I felt, indeed, a sort of disappointment when I found myself likely to recover, and regretted that I had still to experience, sooner or later, the same disagreeable scene again.

I have forgotten what was Mr. Denham's disorder, but it was a tedious one, and he at last sunk under it. He left me a small legacy in his will, as a testimony of his friendship ; and I was once more abandoned to myself in the wide world, the warehouse being confided to the care of the testamentary executor, who dismissed me.

My brother-in-law, Holmes, who happened to be at Philadelphia, advised me to return to my former profession ; and Keimer offered me a very considerable salary if I would undertake the management of his printing-office, that he might devote himself entirely to the superintendence of his shop. His wife
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and relations in London had given me a bad character of him, and I was loth, for the present, to have any concern with him. I endeavoured to get employment as a clerk to a merchant; but not readily finding a situation, I was induced to accept Keimer's proposal.

I soon perceived that Keimer's intention, in engaging me at a price so much above what he was accustomed to give, was, that I might form all his raw journeymen and apprentices, who scarcely cost him any thing, and who, being indentured, would, as soon as they should be sufficiently instructed, enable him to do without me. I nevertheless adhered to my agreement. I put the office in order, which was in the utmost confusion, and brought his people, by degrees, to execute heir work in a more proper manner. ---Among these people was one George Webb.

It was singular to see an Oxford scholar in the condition of a purchased servant. He was not more than 18 years of age, and the following are the particulars he gave me of himself. Born at Gloucester, he had been educated at a grammar-school, and had distinguished himself among the scholars by his superior style of acting, when they represented dramatic performances. He was member of a literary club in the town, and some pieces of his composition, in prose as well as in verse, had been inserted in the Gloucester papers. From hence he was sent to Oxford, where he remained about a year; but he was not contented, and wished above all things to see London, and become an actor. At length, having received 15 guineas to pay his quarter's board, he decamped with the money from Oxford, hid his gown in a hedge, and travelled to London. There, having no friend to direct him, he fell into bad company, soon squandered his 15 guineas, could find no way of being introduced to the actors, became contemptible, pawned his clothes, and was in want of bread. As he was walking along the streets, almost famished with hunger, and not knowing what to do, a recruiting bill was put into his hand, which offered an immediate treat and bounty-

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money to whoever was disposed to serve in America. He instantly repaired to the house of rendezvous, enlisted himself, was put on board a ship, and conveyed to America, without ever writing a line to inform his parents what was become of him. His mental vivacity and good natural disposition made him an excellent companion; but he was indolent, thoughtless, and to the last degree imprudent.

I increased my acquaintance with persons of knowledge and information in the town. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent esteem; and I had nothing to give me uneasiness but my debt to Vernon, which I was unable to pay, my savings as yet being very little. He had the goodness, however, not to ask me for the money.

Our press was frequently in want of the necessary quantity of letter, and there was no such trade as that of letter-founder in America. I had seen the practice of this art at the house of James, in London, but at the same time paid very little attention to it. I, however, contrived to fabricate a mould. I made use of such letters as we had for punches, founded new letters of lead in matrices of clay, and thus supplied, in a tolerable manner, the wants that were most pressing.

I also, upon occasion, engraved various ornaments, made ink, gave an eye to the shop; in short, I was in every respect, the *factotum*. But, useful as I made myself, I perceived that my services became every day of less importance, in proportion as the other men improved; and when Keimer paid me my second quarter's wages, he gave me to understand that they were too heavy, and that he thought I ought to make an abatement. He became by degrees less civil, and assumed more the tone of master. He frequently found fault, was difficult to please, and seemed always on the point of coming to an open quarrel with me.

I continued, however, to bear it patiently, conceiving that his ill-humour was partly occasioned by the
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derangement and embarrassment of his affairs. At last a slight incident broke our connection. Hearing a noise in the neighbourhood, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer being in the street, observed me, and, in a loud and angry tone, told me to mind my work; adding some reproachful words, which piqued me the more as they were uttered in the street, and the neighbours, whom the same noise had attracted to the windows, were witnesses of the manner in which I was treated. He immediately came up to the printing-room, and continued to exclaim against me. The quarrel became warm on both sides, and he gave me notice to quit him at the expiration of three months, as had been agreed between us, regretting that he was obliged to give me so long a term. I told him that his regret was superfluous, as I was ready to quit him instantly; and I took my hat and came out of the house, begging Meredith to take care of some things which I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came to me in the evening. We talked for some time upon the quarrel that had taken place. He had conceived a great veneration for me, and was sorry I should quit the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country, as I began to think of doing. He reminded me that Keimer owed more than he possessed; that his creditors began to be alarmed; that he kept his shop in a wretched state, often selling things at prime cost for the sake of ready money, and continually giving credit, without keeping any accounts; that, of consequence, he must very soon fail, which would occasion a vacancy from which I might derive advantage. I objected my want of money. Upon which, he informed me, that his father had a very high opinion of me, and, from a conversation that had passed between them, he was sure that he would advance whatever might be necessary to establish us, if I was willing to enter into partnership with him. "My time with Keimer (added he) will be at an end next spring.

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In the mean time we may send to London for our press and types. I know that I am no workman ; but if you agree to the proposal, your skill in the business will be balanced by the capital I will furnish, and we will share the profits equally." His proposal was reasonable, and I fell in with it. His father, who was then in the town, approved of it. He knew that I had some ascendancy over his son, as I had been able to prevail on him to abstain a long time from drinking brandy ; and he hoped, that, when more closely connected with him, I should cure him entirely of this unfortunate habit.

I gave the father a list of what it would be necessary to import from London. He took it to a merchant, and the order was given. We agreed to keep the secret till the arrival of the materials, and I was, in the mean time, to procure work, if possible, in another printing-house ; but there was no place vacant, and I remained idle. After some days, Keimer, having the expectation of being employed to print some New-Jersey money-bills, that would require types and engravings, which I only could furnish, and fearful that Bradford, by engaging me, might deprive him of the undertaking, sent me a very civil message, telling me that old friends ought not to be disunited on account of a few words, which were the effects only of a momentary passion, and inviting me to return to him. Meredith persuaded me to comply with the invitation, particularly as it would afford him more opportunities of improving himself in the business, by means of my instructions. I did so ; and we lived upon better terms than before our separation.

He obtained the New-Jersey business ; and, in order to execute it, I constructed a copper-plate printing-press, the first that had been seen in the country. I engraved various ornaments and vignettes for the bills, and we repaired to Burlington together, where I executed the whole to the general satisfaction ; and he received a sum of money for his work, which enabled him to keep his head above water for a considerable time longer.

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At Burlington I formed acquaintance with the principal personages of the province, many of whom were commissioned by the Assembly to superintend the press, and to see that no more bills were printed than the law had prescribed. Accordingly, they were constantly with us, each in his turn, and he that came commonly brought with him a friend or two, to bear him company. My mind was more cultivated by reading than Keimer's, and it was for this reason, probably, that they set more value on my conversation. They took me to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and treated me with the greatest civility; while Keimer, tho' master, saw himself a little neglected. He was, in fact, a strange animal, ignorant of the common modes of life, apt to oppose with rudeness generally received opinions, an enthusiast in certain points of religion, disgustingly unclean in his person, and a little knavish with all.

We remained there nearly three months, and at the expiration of this period I could include in the list of my friends, Judge Allen, Samuel Bustil, Secretary of the province, Isaac Person, Joseph Cooper, several of the Smiths, all members of the Assembly, and Isaac Deacon, Inspector-general. The last was a shrewd and subtle old man. He told me, that, when a boy, his first employment had been that of carrying clay to brick-makers; that he did not learn to write till he was somewhat advanced in life; that he was afterwards employed as an underling to a surveyor, who taught him his trade; and that, by industry, he had acquired a competent fortune. "I foresee (said he one day to me) that you will soon supplant this man, (speaking of Keimer) and get a fortune in the business at Philadelphia." He was wholly ignorant at the time of my intention of establishing myself there or any where else. These friends were very serviceable to me in the end, as was I also, upon occasion, to some of them, and they have continued ever since their esteem for me.

I had not long returned from Burlington before our printing materials arrived from London. I settled my accounts with Keimer, and quitted him, with his own consent, before he had any knowledge of our plan. We found a house to let near the market. We took it, and to render the rent less burthensome (it was then 20*l.* a-year, but I have since known it to let for 100*l.*), we admitted Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, with his family, who eased us of a considerable part of it, and with him we agreed to board.

We had no sooner unpacked our letters and put our press in order, than a person of my acquaintance, George House, brought us a countryman, whom he had met in the street inquiring for a printer. Our money was almost exhausted by the number of things we had been obliged to procure. The five shillings we received from this countryman, the first fruit of our earnings, coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any sum I have since gained; and the recollection of the gratitude I felt on this occasion to George House, has rendered me often more disposed than perhaps I should otherwise have been to encourage young beginners in trade.

There are in every country morose beings, who are always prognosticating ruin. There was one of this stamp in Philadelphia. He was a man of fortune, declined in years, had an air of wisdom, and a very grave manner of speaking. His name was Samuel Mickle. I knew him not; but he stopped one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing-house? Upon my answering in the affirmative, he said he was very sorry for me, as it was an expensive undertaking, and the money that had been laid out upon it would be lost, Philadelphia being a place falling into decay, its inhabitants having all, or nearly all of them, been obliged to call together their creditors. That he knew, from undoubted fact, the circumstances which might lead us to suppose the contrary, such as new buildings, and the advanced price of rent, to be deceitful appearances,

pearances, which in reality contributed to hasten the general ruin ; and he gave me so long a detail of misfortunes actually existing, or which were soon to take place, that he left me almost in a state of despair.— Had I known this man before I entered into trade, I should doubtless never have ventured. He, however, continued to live in this place of decay, and to declaim in the same style, refusing for many years to buy a house, because all was going to wreck ; and, in the end, I had the satisfaction to see him pay five times as much for one as it would cost him had he purchased it when he first began his lamentations.

I ought to have related, that, during the autumn of the preceding year, I had united the majority of well-informed persons into a club, which we called by the name of the *Junto*, and the object of which was to improve our understandings. We met every Friday. The regulations I drew up obliged every member to propose, in his turn, one or more questions upon some point of morality, politics, or philosophy, which were to be discussed by the society ; and to read once in three months, an essay of his own composition, on whatever subject he pleased. Our debates were under the direction of a president, and were to be dictated only by a sincere desire of truth, the pleasure of disputing, and the vanity of triumph having no share in the business ; and in order to prevent undue warmth every expression which implied obstinate adherence to an opinion, and all direct contradiction, were prohibited, under small pecuniary penalties.

The first members of our club were Joseph Breintnal, whose occupation was that of a scrivener. He was a middle-aged man, of a good natural disposition, strongly attached to his friends, a great lover of poetry, reading every thing that came in his way, and writing tolerably well, ingenious in many little trifles, and of an agreeable conversation.

Thomas Godfrey, a skilful tho' self-taught mathematician, and who was afterwards the inventor of what goes by the name of Hadley's dial ; but he had

little knowledge out of his own line, and was insupportable in company, always requiring, like the majority of mathematicians that have fallen in my way, an unusual precision in every thing that is said, continually contradicting, or making trifling distinctions; a sure way of defeating all the ends of conversation.— He very soon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, and who became afterwards Surveyor-general. He was fond of books, and wrote verses.

William Parsons brought up to the trade of a shoemaker; but who, having a taste for reading, had acquired a profound knowledge of mathematics. He first studied them with a view to astrology, and was afterwards the first to laugh at his folly. He also became Surveyor-general.

William Mawgridge, a joiner, and very excellent mechanic, and in other respects a man of solid understanding.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts and George Webb, apprentices to Keimer.

Robert Grace, a young man of fortune, generous, animated and witty, fond of epigrams, but more fond of his friends:

And, lastly, William Coleman, at that time a merchant's clerk, and nearly of my own age. He had a cooler and clearer head, a better heart, and more scrupulous morals, than almost any other person I ever met with. He became a very respectable merchant, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship subsisted, without interruption, for more than 40 years, till the period of his death, and the club continued to exist almost as long.

This was the best school of politics and philosophy that then existed in the province; for our questions, which were read a week previous to their discussion, induced us to peruse attentively such books as were written upon the subjects proposed, that we might be able to speak upon them more pertinently. We thus acquired the habit of conversing more agreeably; every

ry object being discussed conformably to our regulations, and in a manner to prevent mutual disgust.—To this circumstance may be attributed the long duration of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to mention as I proceed.

I have introduced it here, as being one of the means on which I had to count for my success in my business, every member exerting himself to procure work for us. Breintnal, among others, obtained for us, on the part of the Quakers, the printing of 40 sheets of their history, the rest of which was to be done by Keimer. Our execution of this work was by no means masterly, as the price was very low. It was in folio, upon Propatria paper, and in the Pica letter, with heavy notes in the smallest type. I composed a sheet a day, and Meredith put it to press. It was frequently 11 o'clock at night, sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's task; for the little things which our friends occasionally sent us, kept us back in this work; but I was so determined to compose a sheet a day, that one evening, when my form was imposed, and my day's work, as I tho't, at an end, an accident having broken this form, and deranged two complete folio pages, I immediately distributed, and composed them anew before I went to bed.

This unwearied industry, which was perceived by our neighbours, began to acquire us reputation and credit. I learned, among other things, that our new printing-house being the subject of conversation at a club of merchants, who met every evening, it was the general opinion it would fail, there being already two printing-houses in the town, Keimer's and Bradford's. But Dr. Bard, whom you and I had occasion to see, many years after, at his native town of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, was of a different opinion. "The industry of this Franklin (said he) is superior to any thing of the kind I have ever witnessed. I see him still at work when I return from the club at night, and he is at it again in the morning before his neighbours are out

out of bed." This account struck the rest of the assembly, and shortly after, one of its members came to our house, and offered to supply us with articles of stationary; but we wished not as yet to embarrass ourselves with keeping a shop. It is not for the sake of applause that I enter so freely into the particulars of my industry, but that such of my descendants as shall read these memoirs, may know the use of this virtue, by seeing, in the recital of my life, the effects it operated in my favour.

George Webb, having found a friend who lent him the necessary sum to buy out his time with Keimer, came one day to offer himself to us as a journeyman. We could not employ him immediately; but I foolishly told him, under the rose, that I intended shortly to publish a new periodical paper, and that we should then have work for him. My hopes of success, which I imparted to him, were founded on the circumstance, that the only paper we had in Philadelphia at that time, and which Bradford printed, was a paltry thing, miserably conducted, in no respect amusing, and yet was profitable. Webb betrayed my secret to Keimer, who, to prevent me, immediately published the Prospectus of a paper that he intended to institute himself, and in which Webb was to be engaged.

I was exasperated at this proceeding, and, with a view to counteract them, not being able at present to institute my own paper, I wrote some humorous pieces in Bradford's, under the title of the Busy Body, and which was continued for several months by Breintnal. I hereby fixed the attention of the public upon Bradford's paper; and the Prospectus of Keimer, which he turned into ridicule, was treated with contempt. He began, notwithstanding, his paper, and after continuing it for 9 months, having at most not more than 90 subscribers, he offered it me for a mere trifle. I had for some time been ready for such an engagement; I therefore instantly took it upon myself, and in a few years it proved extremely profitable to me.

Our

Our first number produced no other effect than any other paper which had appeared in the province, as to type and printing; but some remarks, in my peculiar style of writing, upon the dispute which then prevailed between Governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck some persons, as above mediocrity, caused the paper, and its editors, to be talked of, and in a few weeks induced them to become our subscribers. Many others followed their example, and our subscription began to increase. This was one of the first good effects of the pains I had taken to learn to put my ideas on paper. I derived this further advantage from it, that the leading men in the place, seeing, in the author of this publication, a man so well able to use his pen, thought it right to encourage and patronise me.

The votes, laws, and other public pieces, were printed by Bradford. An address of the house of Assembly to the Governor, had been executed by him in a very coarse and incorrect manner. We re-printed it with accuracy and neatness, and sent a copy to every member; they perceived the difference, and it so strengthened the influence of our friends in the Assembly, that we were nominated its printer for the following year.

Among these friends I ought not to forget one member in particular, Mr. Hamilton, whom I have mentioned in a former part of my narrative, and who was now returned from England. He warmly interested himself for me on this occasion, as he did likewise on many others afterwards, having continued his kindness to me till his death.

About this period Mr. Vernon reminded me of the debt I owed him, but without pressing me for payment. I wrote him a handsome letter on the occasion begging him to wait a little longer, to which he consented; and as soon as I was able I paid him principal and interest, with many expressions of gratitude: so that this error of my life was in a manner atoned for.

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But another trouble now happened to me, which I had not the smallest reason to expect. Meredith's father, who, according to our agreement, was to defray the whole expence of our printing materials, had only paid 100%. Another hundred was still due, and the merchant being tired of waiting commenced a suit against us. We bailed the action, with the melancholy prospect, that, if the money was not forth-coming at the time fixed, the affair would come to issue, judgment, be put in execution, our delightful hopes be annihilated, and ourselves entirely ruined; as the type and press must be sold, perhaps at half their value, to pay the debt.

In this distress, two real friends, whose generous conduct I have never forgotten, and never shall forget while I retain the remembrance of any thing, came to me separately, without the knowledge of each other, and without my having applied to them. Each offered me whatever sum might be necessary to take the business into my own hands, if the thing was practicable, as they did not like I should continue in partnership with Meredith, who, they said, was frequently seen drunk in the streets, and gambling at ale-houses, which very much injured our credit. These friends were William Coleman and Robert Grace. I paid the partnership debts, and continued the business on my own account, taking care to inform the public, by advertisement, of the partnership being dissolved. This was, I think, in the year 1729, or thereabout.

Nearly at the same period the people demanded a new emission of paper money, the existing and only one that had taken place in the province, and which amounted to 15,000*l*. being soon to expire. The wealthy inhabitants, prejudiced against every sort of paper currency, from the fear of its depreciation, of which there had been an instance in New-England, to the injury of its holders, strongly opposed the measure. We had discussed this affair in our Junto, in which I was on the side of the new emission; convinced that the first small sum fabricated in 1723, had
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done much good in the province, by favouring commerce, industry and population, since all the houses were now inhabited, and many others building; whereas I remembered to have seen, when first I paraded the streets of Philadelphia, eating my roll, the majority of those in Walnut-street, Second-street, Fourth-street, as well as a great number in Chesnut and other streets, with papers on them, signifying that they were to be let, which made me think at the time that the inhabitants of the town were deserting it one after another.

Our debates made me so fully master of the subject, that I wrote and published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled, "An Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency." It was very well received by the lower and middling class of people; but it displeased the opulent, as it increased the clamour in favour of the new emission.—Having, however, no writer among them capable of answering it, their opposition became less violent; and there being in the House of Assembly a majority for the measure, it passed. The friends I had acquired in the House, persuaded that I had done the country essential service on this occasion, rewarded me by giving me the printing of the bills. It was a lucrative employment, and proved a very seasonable help to me; another advantage which I derived from having habituated myself to write.

Time and experience so fully demonstrated the utility of paper currency, that it never experienced any considerable opposition; so that it soon amounted to 55,000*l*. and in the year 1439, to 80,000*l*. It has since risen, during the last war, to 350,000*l*. trade, buildings and population having in the interval continually increased, but I am now convinced that there are limits beyond which paper money would be prejudicial.

I soon after obtained, by the influence of my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper money, another profitable work, as I then thought it, little things appearing great to persons of moderate fortune; and

and they were really great to me, as proving great encouragements. He also procured me the printing of the laws and votes of that government, which I retained as long as I continued in the business.

I now opened a small stationer's shop. I kept bonds and agreements of all kinds, drawn up in a more accurate form than had yet been seen in that part of the world, a work in which I was assisted by my friend Breintnal. I had also paper, parchment, paste-board, books, &c. One Whitemash, an excellent compositor, whom I had known in London, came to offer himself. I engaged him, and he continued constantly to work with me; I also took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began to pay, by degrees, the debt I had contracted, and in order to insure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be really industrious and frugal, but also to avoid every appearance of the contrary. I was plainly dressed, and never seen in any place of public amusement. I never went a fishing or hunting. A book, indeed, enticed me sometimes from my work, but it was seldom, by stealth, and occasioned no scandal; and to show that I was not above my profession, I conveyed home sometimes in a wheelbarrow the paper I purchased at the warehouses.

I thus obtained the reputation of being an industrious young man, and very punctual in my payments. The merchants who imported articles of stationary solicited my custom, others offered to furnish me with books, and my little trade went on prosperously.

Meanwhile the business and credit of Keimer diminishing every day, he was at last forced to sell his stock to satisfy his creditors, and he betook himself to Barbadoes, where he lived some time in a very impoverished state. His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I worked with Keimer, having bought his materials, succeeded him in the business. I was apprehensive at first of finding in Harry a powerful competitor, as he was allied to an opulent and

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respectable family; I therefore proposed a partnership, which, happily for me, he rejected with disdain. He was extremely proud, thought himself a fine gentleman, lived extravagantly, and pursued amusements which suffered him to be scarcely ever at home; of consequence, he became in debt, neglected his business, and business neglected him. Finding in a short time nothing to be done in the country, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, carrying his printing materials with him. There the apprentice employed his old master as a journeyman. They were continually quarreling, and Harry still getting in debt, was obliged at last to sell his press and types, and return to his old occupation of husbandry in Pennsylvania. The person who purchased them employed Keimer to manage the business, but he died a few years after.

I had now at Philadelphia no competitor but Bradford, who, being in easy circumstances, did not engage in the printing of books, except now and then as workmen chanced to offer themselves, and was not anxious to extend his trade. He had, however, one advantage over me, as he had the direction of the post-office, and was, of consequence, supposed to have better opportunities of obtaining news. His paper was also supposed to be more advantageous to advertising customers, and, in consequence of that supposition, his advertisements were much more numerous than mine; this was a source of great profit to him, and disadvantageous to me. It was to no purpose that I really procured other papers, and distributed my own, by means of the post, the public took for granted my inability in this respect, and I was indeed unable to conquer it in any other mode than by bribing the post-boys, who served me only by stealth, Bradford being so illiberal as to forbid them. This treatment of his excited my resentment, and my disgust was so rooted, that when I afterwards succeeded him in the post-office, I took care to avoid copying his example.

I had hitherto continued to board with Godfrey, who, with his wife and children, occupied part of my house,

house, and half the shop for his business, at which indeed he worked very little, being always absorbed by mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey formed a wish of marrying me to the daughter of one of her relations. She contrived various opportunities of bringing us together, till she saw that I was captivated, which was not difficult, the lady in question possessing great personal merit. The parents encouraged my addresses, by inviting me continually to supper, and leaving us together, till at last it was time to come to an explanation. Mrs. Godfrey undertook to negociate our little treaty. I gave her to understand that I expected to receive with the young lady a sum of money that would enable me at least to discharge the remainder of my debt for my printing materials. It was then, I believe, not more than 100*l*. She brought me for answer, that they had no such sum at their disposal. I observed, that it might easily be obtained by a mortgage on their house. The reply to this was, after a few days interval, that they did not approve of the match; that they had consulted Bradford, and found that the business of a printer was not lucrative; that my letters would soon be worn out, and must be supplied by new ones; that Keimer and Harry had failed, and that, probably, I should do so too. Accordingly, he forbade me the house, and the young lady was confined. I know not if they had really changed their minds, or if it was merely an artifice, supposing our affections to be too far engaged to desist, and that we should contrive to marry secretly, which would leave them at liberty to give or not as they pleased.—But, suspecting this motive, I never went again to their house.

As a neighbour and old acquaintance, I kept up a friendly intimacy with the family of Miss Read. Her parents retained an affection for me from the time of my lodging in their house. I was often invited thither, they consulted me about their affairs, and I had been sometimes serviceable to them. I was touched with the unhappy situation of their daughter, who was

almost always melancholy, and continually seeking solitude. I regarded my forgetfulness and inconstancy, during my abode in London, as the principal cause of her misfortune, tho' her mother had the candour to attribute the fault to herself, rather than to me, because after having prevented our marriage previous to my departure, she had induced her to marry another in my absence.

Our mutual affection revived, but there existed great obstacles to our union. Her marriage was considered, indeed, as not being valid, the man having, as it was said, a former wife still living in England; but of this it was difficult to obtain a proof at so great a distance: and tho' a report prevailed of his being dead, yet we had no certainty of it; and supposing it to be true, he had left many debts, for the payment of which his successor might be sued. We ventured, nevertheless, in spite of all these difficulties, and I married her on the 1st of September, 1730. None of the inconveniences we had feared happened to us. She proved to me a good and faithful companion, and contributed essentially to the success of my shop.—We prospered together, and it was our mutual study to render each other happy. Thus I corrected, as well as I could, this great error of my youth.

Our club was not at that time established at a tavern. We held our meetings at the house of Mr. Grace, who appropriated a room to the purpose.—Some member observed, one day, that, as our books were frequently quoted in the course of our discussions, it would be convenient to have them collected in the room in which we assembled, in order to be consulted upon occasion; and that, by thus forming a common library of our individual collections, each would have the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would nearly be the same as if he possessed them all himself. The idea was approved, and we accordingly brought such books as we thought we could spare, which were placed at the end of the club-room. They amounted not to so many

as we expected, and tho' we made considerable use of them, yet some inconveniencies resulting from want of care, it was agreed, after about a year, to destroy the collection, and each took away such books as belonged to him.

It was now that I first started the idea of establishing, by subscription, a public library. I drew up the proposals, had them ingrossed in form by Brockden the attorney, and my project succeeded.

[Thus far goes the narrative by the Doctor's own hand, and every reader of taste must be pleased with the frank ingenuity and beautiful simplicity of the writer—What follows was written by Dr. Stuber.—It must be a matter of regret, that the public has been deprived not only of the continuation of the Dr's life by himself, but also of the whole of his valuable papers, from which so much information and instruction were expected. Shortly after his death, his papers were sent to London, and there sold to a bookseller for 5000*l.* from whom, it is asserted, the English Minister bought them for 10,000*l.*—We have a right to believe this account, as the papers have never since been heard of. *]

THE promotion of literature had been little attended to in Pennsylvania. Most of the inhabitants were too much immersed in business to think of scientific pursuits, and those few whose inclinations led them to study, found it difficult to gratify them, from the want of sufficiently large libraries. In such circumstances, the establishment of a public library was an important event. This was first set on foot by Franklin, about the year 1731. Fifty persons subscribed 40*s.* each, and agreed to pay 10*s.* annually. The number increased, and in 1742 the company was incorporated by the name of "The Library Company of Philadelphia." Several other companies were formed in this city, in imitation of it. These were all at length united with the Library Company of Philadelphia, which thus received a considerable accession of books and property. It now contains about 9000 volumes,
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* We have likewise a right to believe, that if the WASHINGTON papers had been sent to London, they also would have been smother'd by *State policy*.

on all subjects, a philosophical apparatus, and a good beginning towards a collection of natural and artificial curiosities, besides landed property of considerable value. The Company have lately built an elegant house in Fifth-street, in the front of which is erected a marble statue of their founder, Benjamin Franklin.

The beneficial effects of this institution was soon evident. The cheapness of terms rendered it accessible to every one. Its advantages were not confined to the opulent. The citizens in the middle and lower walks of life were equally partakers of them. Hence a degree of information was extended amongst all classes of people, which is very unusual in other places. The example was soon followed. Libraries were established in various places, and they are now become very numerous in the United States, and particularly in Pennsylvania. It is to be hoped that they will be still more widely extended, and that information will be every where increased. This will be the best security for maintaining our liberties. A nation of well-informed men, who have been taught to know and prize the rights which God has given them, cannot be enslaved. It is in the regions of Ignorance that Tyranny reigns. It flies before the light of Science. Let the citizens of America, then, encourage institutions calculated to diffuse knowledge amongst the people, and, amongst these, public libraries are not the least important.

In 1732, Franklin began to publish Poor Richard's Almanack. This was remarkable for the numerous and valuable concise maxims which it contained, all tending to exhort to industry and frugality. It was continued for many years. In the almanack for the last year, all the maxims were collected in an address to the reader, entitled, *The Way to Wealth*. This has been translated into various languages, and inserted in different publications. This address contains, perhaps, the best practical system of economy that ever has appeared. It is written in a manner intelligible to every one, and which cannot fail of convincing eve-

ry reader of the justice and propriety of the remarks and advice which it contains. The demand for this almanack was so great, that 10,000 has been sold in one year, which must be considered as a very large number, especially when we reflect, that this country was, at that time, but thinly peopled. It cannot be doubted, that the salutary maxims contained in these almanacks must have made a favourable impression upon many of the readers of them.

It was not long before Franklin entered upon his political career. In the year 1736, he was appointed Clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and was re-elected by succeeding Assemblies for several years, until he was chosen a representative for the city of Philadelphia.

Bradford was possessed of some advantages over Franklin, by being Post-master, thereby having an opportunity of circulating his paper more extensively, and thus rendering it a better vehicle for advertisements, &c. Franklin, in his turn, enjoyed these advantages, by being appointed Post-master of Philadelphia, in 1737. Bradford, while in office, had acted ungenerously towards Franklin, preventing, as much as possible, the circulation of his paper. He had now an opportunity of retaliating, but his nobleness of soul prevented him from making use of it.

There is nothing more dangerous to growing cities than fires. Other causes operate slowly, and almost imperceptibly; but these, in a moment, render abortive the labours of years. On this account there should be, in all cities, ample provisions to prevent fires from spreading. Franklin early saw the necessity of these, and about the year 1738, formed the first fire-company in this city. This example was soon followed by others, and there are now numerous fire-companies in the city and liberties. To these may be attributed, in a great degree, the activity in extinguishing fires, for which the citizens of Philadelphia are distinguished, and the inconsiderable damage which this city has sustained from this cause. Some time
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after, Franklin suggested the plan of an association for insuring houses from losses by fire, which was adopted, and the association continues to this day.—The advantages experienced from it have been great.

Pursuits of a different nature now occupied the greatest part of Franklin's attention for some years. He engaged in a course of electrical experiments, with all the ardour and thirst for discovery which characterised the philosophers of that day. Of all the branches of experimental philosophy, electricity had been least explored. The attractive power of amber is mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny, and, from them, by later naturalists. In the year 1600, Gilbert, an English physician, enlarged considerably the catalogue of substances which have the property of attracting light bodies. Boyle, Otto Guericke, a burgomaster of Magdeburg, celebrated as the inventor of the air-pump, Dr. Wall, and Sir Isaac Newton, added some facts. Guericke first observed the repulsive power of electricity, and the light and noise produced by it. In 1709, Hawkesbee communicated some important observations and experiments to the world. For several years electricity was entirely neglected, until Mr. Grey applied himself to it, in 1728, with great assiduity. He, and his friend Mr. Wheeler, made a great variety of experiments; in which they demonstrated, that electricity may be communicated from one body to another, even without being in contact, and in this way may be conducted to a great distance. Mr. Grey afterwards found, that, by suspending rods of iron by silk or hair lines, and bringing an excited tube under them, sparks might be drawn, and a light perceived at the extremities, in the dark. M. du Faye, intendant of the French King's gardens, made a number of experiments, which added not a little to the science. He made the discovery of two kinds of electricity, which he called vitrous and resinous, the former produced by rubbing glass, the latter from excited sulphur, sealing-wax, &c. But this idea he afterwards gave up as erroneous. Between the
years

years 1739 and 1742, Desaguliers made a number of experiments, but added little of importance. He first used the terms conductors and electrics *per se*. In 1742, several ingenious Germans engaged in this subject. Of these the principal were, professor Boze, of Wittemberg—professor Winkler, of Leipsic—Gordon, a Scotch Benedictine monk, professor of philosophy at Erfurt—and Dr. Ludolf, of Berlin. The result of their researches astonished the philosophers of Europe. Their apparatus was large, and by means of it they were enabled to collect large quantities of electricity, and thus to produce phenomena which had been hitherto unobserved. They killed small birds, and set spirits on fire. Their experiments excited the curiosity of other philosophers. Collinson, about the year 1745, sent to the Library Company of Philadelphia an account of these experiments, together with a tube, and directed how to use it. Franklin, with some of his friends, immediately engaged in a course of experiments, the result of which is well known.—He was enabled to make a number of important discoveries, and to propose theories to account for various phenomena, which have been universally adopted, and which bid fair to endure for ages. His observations he communicated, in a series of letters, to his friend Collinson, the first of which is dated March 28, 1747. In these he makes known the power of points in drawing and throwing off the electrical matter, which had hitherto escaped the notice of electricians. He also made the grand discovery of a plus and minus, or of a positive and negative state of electricity. We give him the honour of this, without hesitation, altho' the English have claimed it for their countryman, Dr. Watson. Watson's paper is dated January 21, 1748. Franklin's July 11, 1747, several months prior.

It was not until the summer of 1752, that he was enabled to complete his unparalleled discovery by experiment. The plan which he originally proposed was to erect on some high tower, or other elevated place, a centry-box, from which should rise a pointed iron

iron rod, insulated by being fixed in a cake of resin. Electrified clouds passing over this would, he conceived, impart to it a portion of their electricity, which would be rendered evident to the senses by sparks being emitted, when a key, a knuckle, or other conductor was presented to it. Philadelphia, at this time, afforded no opportunity of trying an experiment of this kind. Whilst Franklin was waiting for the erection of a spire, it occurred to him, that he might have more free access to the region of clouds by means of a common kite. He prepared one by attaching two cross sticks to a silk handkerchief, which would not suffer so much from the rain as paper. To his upright stick was affixed an iron point. The string was, as usual, of hemp, except the lower end, which was silk. Where the hempen string terminated, a key was fastened. With this apparatus, on the appearance of a thunder-gust approaching, he went out into the Commons, accompanied by his son, to whom alone he communicated his intentions, well knowing the ridicule which, too generally for the interest of Science, awaits unsuccessful experiments in philosophy. He placed himself under a shed, to avoid the rain. His kite was raised—a thunder-cloud passed over it—no sign of electricity appeared—he almost despaired of success—when, suddenly, he observed the loose fibres of his string to move towards an erect position. He now presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. How exquisite must his sensations have been at this moment! On this experiment depended the fate of his theory. If he succeeded, his name would rank high among those who have improved science; if he failed, he must be inevitably subjected to the derision of mankind; or, what is worse, their pity, as a well-meaning man, but a weak, silly projector. The anxiety with which he looked for the result of his experiment may easily be conceived. Doubts and despair had begun to prevail, when the fact was ascertained in so clear a manner, that even the most incredulous could not withhold their

their assent. Repeated sparks were drawn from the key, a phial was charged, a shock given, and all the experiments made which are usually performed with electricity.

By these experiments, Franklin's theory was established in the most firm manner. When the truth of it could no longer be doubted, the vanity of men endeavoured to detract from its merit. That an American, an inhabitant of the obscure city of Philadelphia, the name of which was hardly known, should be able to make discoveries, and to frame theories, which had escaped the notice of the enlightened philosophers of Europe, was too mortifying to be admitted. He must certainly have taken the idea from some body else. An American, a being of an inferior order, make discoveries!—Impossible. It was said, that the Abbe Nollet, in 1748, had suggested the idea of the similarity of lightning and electricity, in his *Leçons de Physique*. It is true, that the Abbe mentions the idea, but he throws it out as a bare conjecture, and proposes no mode of ascertaining the truth of it. He himself acknowledges, that Franklin first entertained the bold thought of bringing lightning from the heavens, by means of pointed rods fixed in the air. The similarity of electricity and lightning is so strong, that we need not be surprised at notice being taken of it, as soon as electrical phenomena became familiar. We find it mentioned by Dr. Wall and Mr. Grey, while the science was in its infancy. But the honour of forming a regular theory of thunder-gusts, of suggesting a mode of determining the truth of it by experiments, and of putting these experiments in practice, and thus establishing his theory upon a firm and solid basis, is incontestibly due to Franklin. D'Alibard, who made the experiments in France, says, that he only followed the track which Franklin had pointed out.

In September, 1752, Franklin entered upon a course of experiments, to determine the state of electricity in the clouds. From a number of experiments he
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formed this conclusion, "that the clouds of a thunder-gust are most commonly in a negative state of electricity, but sometimes in a positive state," and from this it follows, as a necessary consequence, "that, for the most part, in thunder-strokes, it is the earth that strikes into the clouds, and not the clouds that strike into the earth." The letter containing these observations is dated in September, 1753, and yet the discovery of ascending thunder has been said to be of a modern date, and has been attributed to the Abbe Bertholon, who published his memoirs on the subject in 1776.

Franklin's letters have been translated into most of the European languages, and into Latin. In proportion as they have become known, his principles have been adopted. Some opposition was made to his theories, particularly by the Abbe Nollet, who was, however, but feebly supported, whilst the first philosophers of Europe stepped forth in defence of Franklin's principles, amongst whom D'Alibard and Beccaria were the most distinguished. The opposition has gradually ceased, and the Franklinian system is now universally adopted where Science flourishes.

In the year 1745, Franklin published an account of his new-invented Pennsylvania fire-place, in which he minutely and accurately states the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of fire-places, and endeavours to shew that the one which he describes is to be preferred to any other. This contrivance has given rise to the open stoves now in general use, which, however, differ from it in construction, particularly in not having an air-box at the back, thro' which a constant supply of air, warmed in its passage, is thrown into the room. The advantages of this are, that, as a stream of warm air is continually flowing into the room, less fuel is necessary to preserve a proper temperature, and the room may be so tightened as that no air may enter through cracks, the consequences of which are colds, tooth-aches, &c.

Altho' philosophy was a principal object of Franklin's pursuit for several years, he confined himself not to this. In the year 1747, he became a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, as a burgess for the city of Philadelphia. Warm disputes at this time subsisted between the Assembly and the Proprietaries, each contending for what they conceived to be their just rights. Franklin, a friend to the rights of man from his infancy, soon distinguished himself as a steady opponent of the unjust schemes of the Proprietaries. He was soon looked up to as the head of the opposition, and to him have been attributed many of the spirited replies of the Assembly to the messages of the Governors. His influence in the body was very great. This arose not from any superior powers of eloquence; he spoke but seldom, and he never was known to make any thing like an elaborate harangue. His speeches often consisted of a single sentence, or of a well-told story, the moral of which was always obviously to the point. He never attempted the flowery fields of oratory. His manner was plain and mild. His style in speaking was, like that of his writings, simple, unadorned, and remarkably concise. With this plain manner, and his penetrating and solid judgment, he was able to confound the most eloquent and subtle of his adversaries, to confirm the opinions of his friends, and to make converts of the unprejudiced who had opposed him.—With a single observation, he has rendered of no avail an elegant and lengthy discourse, and determined the fate of a question of importance.

But he was not contented with thus supporting the rights of the people. He wished to render them permanently secure, which can only be done by making their value properly known, and this must depend upon increasing and extending information to every class of men. We have already seen that he was the founder of the public library, which contributed greatly towards improving the minds of the citizens. But this was not sufficient. The schools then subsisting were,

were, in general, of little utility. The teachers were men ill-qualified for the important duty which they had undertaken; and, after all, nothing more could be obtained than the rudiments of a common English education. Franklin drew up a plan of an academy, to be erected in the city of Philadelphia, suited to "the state of an infant country;" but in this, as in all his plans, he confined not his views to the present time only. He looked forward to the period when an institution on an enlarged plan would become necessary. With this view he considered his academy as "a foundation for posterity to erect a seminary of learning, more extensive, and suitable to future circumstances." In pursuance of this plan, the constitutions were drawn up, and signed on the 13th of November, 1749. In these, 24 of the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia were named as trustees.

Thus far we thought it proper to exhibit in one view Dr. Franklin's services in the foundation and establishment of this seminary. He soon afterward embarked for England, in the public service of his country, and having been generally employed abroad, in the like service, for the greater part of the remainder of his life, he had but few opportunities of taking any further active part in the affairs of the seminary, until his final return in 1785, when he found its charters violated, and his ancient colleagues, the original founders, deprived of their trust, by an act of the legislature; and altho' his own name had been inserted among the new trustees, yet he declined to take his seat among them, or any concern in the management of their affairs, till the institution was restored by law to its original owners. He then assembled his old colleagues at his own house, and being chosen their President, all their future meetings were held there till within a few months of his death, when they afterwards met at the College.

Dr. Franklin had conducted himself so well in the office of Post-master, and had shown himself to be so well acquainted with the business of that department,

ment, that it was thought expedient to raise him to a more dignified station. In 1753, he was appointed Deputy Post Master General for the British Colonies. The profits arising from the postage of letters formed no inconsiderable part of the revenue which the Crown of Great Britain derived from these Colonies.

The American Colonies were much exposed to depredations on their frontiers by the Indians, and more particularly whenever a war took place between France and England. The Colonies, individually, were either too weak to take efficient measures for their own defence, or they were unwilling to take upon themselves the whole burden of erecting forts and maintaining garrisons, whilst their neighbours, who partook equally with themselves of the advantages, contributed nothing to the expence. Sometimes also the disputes which subsisted between the Governors and Assemblies, prevented the adoption of means of defence, as we have seen was the case in Pennsylvania in 1745. To devise a plan of union between the colonies, to regulate this and other matters, appeared a desirable object. To accomplish this, in the year 1754, commissioners from New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, met at Albany. Dr. Franklin attended here, as a commissioner from Pennsylvania, and produced a plan, which, from the place of meeting, has been usually termed, "The Albany Plan of Union." This proposed, that application should be made for an act of Parliament, to establish in the Colonies a General Government, to be administered by a President-General, appointed by the Crown, and by a Grand Council, consisting of members chosen by the Representatives of the different Colonies, their number to be in direct proportion to the sums paid by each Colony into the general treasury, with this restriction, that no Colony should have more than 7, nor less than two Representatives. The whole executive authority was committed to the President-General.—The power of legislation was lodged in the Grand Coun-

Council and President-General jointly, his consent being made necessary to passing a bill into a law. The powers vested in the President and Council were, to declare war and peace, and to conclude treaties with the Indian nations, to regulate with, and to make purchases of vacant lands from them, either in the name of the Crown, or of the Union; to settle new colonies, to make laws for governing these until they should be erected into separate governments, and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and use other means for the general defence; and, to effect these things, a power was given to make laws, laying such duties, imposts or taxes, as they should find necessary, and as would be least burthensome to the people. All laws were to be sent to England, for the King's approbation, and, unless disapproved of within 3 years, were to remain in force. All officers in the land or sea-service were to be nominated by the President-General, and approved of by the General Council; civil officers were to be nominated by the Council, and approved by the President. Such are the out-lines of the plan proposed for the consideration of the Congress by Dr. Franklin. After several days discussion, it was unanimously agreed to by the Commissioners, a copy transmitted to each Assembly, and one to the King's Council. The fate of it was singular. It was disapproved of by the Ministry of Great Britain, because it gave too much power to the Representatives of the People; and it was rejected by every Assembly; as giving too much power to the President-General the Representative of the Crown, an influence greater than appeared to them proper in a plan of government intended for freemen. Perhaps this rejection on both sides is the strongest proof that could be adduced of the excellence of it, as suited to the situation of America and Great Britain at that time. It appears to have steered exactly in the middle, between the opposite interests of both.

Whilst the French were in possession of Canada, their trade with the natives extended very far, even
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to the back of the British settlements. They were disposed, from time to time, to establish posts within the territory which the British claimed as their own. Independent of the injury to the fur trade, which was considerable, the colonies suffered this further inconvenience, that the Indians were frequently instigated to commit depredations on their frontiers. In the year 1753, encroachments were made upon the boundaries of Virginia. Remonstrances had no effect.— In the ensuing year, a body of men was sent out under the command of Mr. Washington, who, tho' a very young man, had, by his conduct in the preceding year, shewn himself worthy of such an important trust. Whilst marching to take possession of the post at the junction of the Allegany and Monongahela, he was informed that the French had already erected a fort there. A detachment of their men marched against him. He fortified himself as strongly as time and circumstances would admit. A superiority of numbers soon obliged him to surrender Fort Necessity. He obtained honourable terms for himself and men, and returned to Virginia. The government of Great Britain now thought it necessary to interfere. In the year 1755, General Braddock, with some regiments of regular troops and provincial levies, was sent to dispossess the French of the posts upon which they had seized. After the men were all ready, a difficulty occurred, which had nearly prevented the expedition. This was the want of waggons. Franklin now stepped forward, and, with the assistance of his son, in a little time procured 150. Braddock unfortunately fell into an ambuscade, and perished, with a number of his men. Washington, who had accompanied him as an aid-de-camp, and had warned him, in vain, of his danger, now displayed great military talents, in effecting a retreat of the remains of the army, and in forming a junction with the rear, under Colonel Dunbar, upon whom the chief command now devolved.— With some difficulty, they brought their little body to a place of safety, but they found it necessary to
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destroy their waggons and baggage, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. For the waggons which he had furnished, Franklin had given bonds to a large amount. The owners declared their intention of obliging him to make a restitution of their property. Had they put their threats in execution, ruin must inevitably have been the consequence. Governor Shirley, finding that he had incurred these debts for the service of government, made arrangements to have them discharged, and released Franklin from his disagreeable situation.

The alarm spread thro' the Colonies, after the defeat of Braddock, was very great. Preparations to arm were every where made. In Pennsylvania, the prevalence of the Quaker interest prevented the adoption of any system of defence, which would compel the citizens to bear arms. Franklin introduced into the Assembly a bill for organizing a militia, by which every man was allowed to take arms or not, as to him should appear fit. The Quakers, being thus left at liberty, suffered the bill to pass; for, altho' their principles would not suffer them to fight, they had no objections to their neighbours fighting for them. In consequence of this act, a very respectable militia was formed. The sense of impending danger infused a military spirit in all whose religious tenets were not opposed to war. Franklin was appointed Colonel of a regiment in Philadelphia, which consisted of 1200 men.

The north-western frontier being invaded by the enemy, it became necessary to adopt measures for its defence. Franklin was directed by the Governor to take charge of this business. A power of raising men, and of appointing officers to command them, was vested in him. He soon levied a body of troops, with which he repaired to the place at which their presence was necessary. Here he built a fort, and placed the garrison in such a posture of defence, as would enable them to withstand the inroads to which the inhabitants had previously been exposed. He re-
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mained here for some time, in order the more completely to discharge the trust committed to him.— Some business of importance at length rendered his presence necessary in the assembly, and he returned to Philadelphia.

The defence of her colonies was a great expence to Great Britain. The most effectual mode of lessening this was, to put arms into the hands of the inhabitants, and to teach them their use. But England wished not that the Americans should become acquainted with their own strength. She was apprehensive, that, as soon as this period arrived, they would no longer submit to that monopoly of their trade, which to them was highly injurious, but extremely advantageous to the mother country. In comparison with the profits of this, the expence of maintaining armies and fleets to defend them was trifling. She sought to keep them dependant on her for protection, the best plan which could be devised for retaining them in peaceable subjection. The least appearance of a military spirit was therefore to be guarded against, and altho' a war then raged, the act organizing a militia was disapproved of by the Ministry. The regiments which had been formed under it were disbanded, and the defence of the province intrusted to regular troops.

The disputes between the proprietaries and the people continued in full force, altho' a war was raging on the frontiers. Not even the sense of danger was sufficient to reconcile, for ever so short a time, their jarring interests. The Assembly still insisted upon the justice of taxing the proprietary estates, but the Governors constantly refused to give their assent to this measure, without which no bill could pass into a law. Enraged at the obstinacy, and what they conceived to be unjust proceedings, of their opponents, the Assembly at length determined to apply to the mother-country for relief. A petition was addressed to the King, in Council, stating the inconveniences under which the inhabitants laboured,
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from the attention of the proprietaries to their private interests, to the neglect of the general welfare of the community, and praying for redress. Franklin was appointed to present this address, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania, and departed from America in June, 1757. In conformity to the instructions which he had received from the Legislature, he held a conference with the Proprietaries, who then resided in England, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to give up the long-contested point. Finding that they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, he laid his petition before the Council. During this time, Governor Denny assented to a law imposing a tax, in which no discrimination was made in favour of the Penn family. They, alarmed at this intelligence, and Franklin's exertions, used their utmost endeavours to prevent the royal sanction being given to this law, which they represented as highly iniquitous, designed to throw the support of government upon them, and calculated to produce the most ruinous consequences to them and their posterity. The cause was amply discussed before the Privy Council. The Penns found here some strenuous advocates, nor were there wanting some who warmly espoused the side of the people. After some time spent in debate, a proposal was made, that Franklin should solemnly engage, that the assessment of the tax should be so made, as that the proprietary estates should pay no more than a due proportion. This he agreed to perform, the Penn family withdrew their opposition, and tranquillity was thus once more restored to the province.

The mode in which this dispute was terminated is a striking proof of the high opinion entertained of Franklin's integrity and honour, even by those who considered him as inimical to their views. Nor was their confidence ill-founded. The assessment was made upon the strictest principles of equity, and the proprietary estates bore only a proportionable share to the expences of supporting Government.

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After the completion of this important business, Franklin remained at the court of Great Britain, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania. The extensive knowledge which he possessed of the situation of the Colonies, and the regard which he always manifested for their interests, occasioned his appointment to the same office by the Colonies of Massachusetts, Maryland and Georgia. His conduct in this situation was such as rendered him still more dear to his countrymen.

He had now an opportunity of indulging in the society of those friends whom his merits had procured him while at a distance. The regard which they had entertained for him was rather increased by a personal acquaintance. The opposition which had been made to his discoveries in philosophy, gradually ceased, and the rewards of literary merit were abundantly conferred upon him. The Royal Society of London, which had at first refused his performances admission into its transactions, now thought it an honour to rank him among its fellows. Other societies of Europe were equally ambitious of calling him a member.—The university of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Its example was followed by the universities of Edinburgh and of Oxford. His correspondence was sought for by the most eminent philosophers of Europe. His letters to these abound with true science, delivered in the most simple, unadorned manner.

Altho' Dr. Franklin was now principally occupied with political pursuits, he found some time for philosophical studies. He extended his electrical researches, and made a variety of experiments, particularly on the *tourmalin*. The singular properties which this stone possesses of being electrical on one side positively and on the other negatively, by heat alone, without friction, had been but lately observed.

Some experiments on the cold produced by evaporation, made by Dr. Cullen, had been communicated

to Dr. Franklin by Professor Simpson, of Glasgow.— These he repeated, and found, that, by the evaporation of ether in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump, so great a degree of cold was produced in a summer's day, that water was converted into ice. This discovery he applied to the solution of a number of phenomena, particularly a singular fact, which philosophers had endeavoured in vain to account for, viz. that the temperature of the human body, when in health, never exceeds 96 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, altho' the atmosphere which surrounds it may be heated to a much greater degree. This he attributed to the increased perspiration, and consequent evaporation produced by the heat.

The tone produced by rubbing the brim of a drinking-glass with a wet finger had been generally known. A Mr. Pockrich, an Irishman, by placing on a table a number of glasses of different sizes, and tuning them by partly filling them with water, endeavoured to form an instrument capable of playing tunes. He was prevented, by an untimely end, from bringing his invention to any degree of perfection. After his death, some improvements were made upon his plan. The sweetness of the tones induced Dr. Franklin to make a variety of experiments, and he at length formed that elegant instrument which he has called the *Harmonica*.

In the summer of 1762 he returned to America.— On his passage he observed the singular effect produced by the agitation of a vessel, containing oil floating on water. The surface of the oil remains smooth and undisturbed, whilst the water is agitated with the utmost commotion. No satisfactory explanation of this appearance has, we believe, ever been given.

Dr. Franklin received the thanks of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, "as well for the faithful discharge of his duty to that province in particular, as for the many and important services done to America in general, during his residence in Great Britain." A compensa-

tion of 5000*l*. Pennsylvania currency, was also decreed him for his services during 6 years.

During his absence he had been annually elected member of the Assembly. On his return to Pennsylvania, he again took his seat in this body, and continued a steady defender of the liberties of the people.

At the election for a new Assembly, in the fall of 1764, the friends of the Proprietaries made great exertions to exclude those of the adverse party, and obtained a small majority in the city of Philadelphia. Franklin now lost his seat in the house, which he had held for 14 years. On the meeting of the Assembly, it appeared that there was still a decided majority of Franklin's friends. He was immediately appointed Provincial Agent, to the great chagrin of his enemies, who made a solemn protest against his appointment, which was refused admission upon the minutes, as being unprecedented. It was, however, published in the papers, and produced a spirited reply from him, just before his departure for England.

The disturbances produced in America by Mr. Grenville's stamp-act, and the opposition made to it, are well known. Under the Marquis of Rockingham's administration, it appeared expedient to endeavour to calm the minds of the Colonists, and the repeal of the odious tax was contemplated. Amongst other means of collecting information on the disposition of the people to submit to it, Dr. Franklin was called to the bar of the House of Commons. The examination which he here underwent was published, and contains a striking proof of the extent and accuracy of his information, and the facility with which he communicated his sentiments. He represented facts in so strong a point of view, that the inexpediency of the act must have appeared clear to every unprejudiced mind. The act, after some opposition, was repealed about year after it was enacted, and before it had ever been carried into execution.

In the year 1776, he made a visit to Holland and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention

tion from men of science. In his passage thro' Holland, he learned from the watermen the effect which a diminution of the quantity of water in canals has in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England, he was led to make a number of experiments, all of which tended to confirm the observation. These, with an explanation of the phenomenon, he communicated in a letter to his friend Sir John Pringle, which is contained in the volume of his philosophical pieces.

In the following year, he travelled into France, where he met with a no less favourable reception than he had experienced in Germany. He was introduced to a number of literary characters, and to the King, Louis XV.

Several letters, written by Hutchinson, Oliver, and others, to persons in eminent stations in Great Britain, came into the hands of Dr. Franklin.—These contained the most violent invectives against the leading characters of the state of Massachusetts, and strenuously advised the prosecution of vigorous measures, to compel the people to obedience to the measures of the Ministry. These he transmitted to the Legislature, by whom they were published. Attested copies of them were sent to Great Britain, with an address, praying the King to discharge from office persons who had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the people, and who had shewn themselves so unfriendly to their interests. The publication of these letters produced a duel between Mr. Wheatly and Mr. Temple, each of whom was suspected of having been instrumental in procuring them. To prevent any further disputes on this subject, Dr. Franklin, in one of the public papers, declared that he had sent them to America, but would give no information concerning the manner in which he had obtained them, nor was this ever discovered.

Shortly after, the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly was taken up for examination, before the Privy Council. Dr. Franklin attended, as agent for the

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Assembly ; and here a torrent of the most violent and unwarrantable abuse was poured upon him by the Solicitor General, Wedderburne, (now Lord Loughborough) who was engaged as Council for Oliver and Hutchinson. The petition was declared to be scandalous and vexatious, and the prayer of it rejected.

Dr. Franklin left nothing untried to prevail upon the British Ministry to consent to a change of measures. In private conversations, and in letters to persons in government, he continually expatiated upon the impolicy and injustice of their conduct towards America, and stated, that, notwithstanding the attachment of the Colonists to the Mother-country, a repetition of ill treatment must ultimately alienate their affections. They listened not to his advice.— They blindly persevered in their own schemes, and left to the Colonists no other alternative but opposition or unconditional submission. The latter accorded not with the principles of freedom, which they had been taught to revere. To the former they were compelled, tho' reluctantly, to have recourse.

Dr. Franklin, finding all efforts to restore harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies useless, returned to America in the year 1775, just after the commencement of hostilities. The day after his return, he was elected, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress. Not long after his election, a committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Lynch, Mr. Harrison, and himself, to visit the camp at Cambridge, and, in conjunction with the Commander in Chief, to endeavour to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

In the fall of the same year, he visited Canada, to endeavour to unite them in the common cause of liberty ; but they could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government. M. Le Roy, in a letter annexed to Abbe Fauchet's eulogium of Dr. Franklin, states, that the ill success of this negotiation

tion was occasioned, in a great degree, by religious animosities, which subsisted between the Canadians and their neighbours, some of whom had, at different times, burnt their chapels.

When Lord Howe came to America, in 1776, vested with power to treat with the Colonists, a correspondence took place between him and Dr. Franklin, on the subject of a reconciliation. Dr. Franklin was afterwards appointed, together with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to wait upon the Commissioners, in order to learn the extent of their power. These were found to be only to grant pardons upon submission. These were terms which would not be accepted, and the object of the Commissioners could not be obtained.

The momentous question of independence was shortly after brought into view, at a time when the fleets and armies, which were sent to enforce obedience, were truly formidable. With an army ignorant of discipline, and entirely unskilled in the art of war, without money, without a fleet, without allies, and with nothing but the love of liberty to support them, the Colonists determined to separate from a country from which they had experienced a repetition of injury and insult. In this question, Dr. Franklin was decidedly in favour of the measure proposed, and had great influence in bringing over others to his sentiments.

The public mind had been pretty fully prepared for this event, by 'Tho. Paine's celebrated pamphlet, *Common Sense*. There is good reason to believe that Dr. Franklin had no inconsiderable share, at least, in furnishing materials for this work.

In the Convention which assembled at Philadelphia, in 1776, for the purpose of establishing a new form of government for the state of Pennsylvania, Dr. Franklin was chosen President. The late constitution of this state, which was the result of their deliberations, may be considered as a digest of his principles
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of government. The single legislature, and the plural executive, seem to have been his favourite tenets.

In the latter end of 1776, Dr. Franklin was appointed to assist in the negotiations which had been set on foot by Silas Deane, at the court of France. A conviction of the advantages of a commercial intercourse with America, and a desire of weakening the British empire by dismembering it, first induced the French court to listen to proposals of an alliance. But they shewed rather a reluctance to the measure, which, by Dr. Franklin's address, and particularly by the success of the American arms against General Burgoyne, was at length overcome, and, in February 1778, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded, in consequence of which France became involved in the war with Great Britain.

Perhaps no person could have been found more capable of rendering essential services to the United States at the court of France than Dr. Franklin. He was well known as a philosopher, and his character was held in the highest estimation. He was received with the greatest marks of respect by all literary characters, and this respect was extended amongst all classes of men. His personal influence was hence very considerable. To the effects of this were added those of various performances which he published, tending to establish the credit and character of the United States. To his exertions in this way, may, in no small degree, be ascribed the success of the loans negociated in Holland and France, which greatly contributed to bringing the war to a happy conclusion.

The repeated ill success of their arms, and more particularly the capture of Cornwallis and his army, at length convinced the British nation of the impossibility of reducing the Americans to subjection. The trading interest particularly became clamorous for peace. The Ministry were unable longer to oppose their wishes. Provisional articles of peace were agreed to, and signed at Paris, on the 30th of November.

vember, 1782, by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, on the part of the United States; and by Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain.—These formed the basis of the Definitive Treaty, which was concluded the 3d of September, 1783, and signed by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Jay, on the one part, and by Mr. David Hartley on the other.

On the 3d of April, 1783, a treaty of amity and commerce, between the United States and Sweden, was concluded at Paris by Dr. Franklin and the Count Von Kruit.

Dr. Franklin did not allow his political pursuits to engross his whole attention. Some of his performances made their appearance in Paris. The object of these was, generally, the promotion of industry and economy.

The important ends of Dr. Franklin's mission being completed by the establishment of American Independence, and the infirmities of age and disease coming upon him, he became desirous of returning to his native country. Upon application to Congress to be recalled, Mr. Jefferson was appointed to succeed him, in 1785. Some time in September of the same year, Dr. Franklin arrived in Philadelphia. He was, shortly after, chosen member of the Supreme Executive Council for the city, and soon after was elected President of the same.

When a convention was called to meet in Philadelphia, in 1787, for the purpose of giving more energy to the government of the Union, by revising and amending the Articles of Confederation, Dr. Franklin was appointed a delegate from the state of Pennsylvania. He signed the constitution which they proposed for the Union, and gave it the most unequivocal marks of his approbation.

Dr. Franklin's increasing infirmities prevented his regular attendance at the Council-chamber; and in 1788, he retired wholly from public life.

His constitution had been a remarkably good one. He had been little subject to disease, except an attack
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of the gout, occasionally, until about the year 1781, when he was first attacked with symptoms of the calculous complaint, which continued during his life.— During the intervals of pain from this grievous disease, he spent many cheerful hours, conversing in the most agreeable and instructive manner. His faculties were entirely unimpaired, even to the hour of his death.

His name, as President of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the constitution, in discouraging the traffic of the human species. This was his last public act. In the debates to which this memorial gave rise, several attempts were made to justify the trade. In the Federal Gazette of March 25th, there appeared an essay, signed *Historicus*, written by Dr. Franklin, in which he communicated a speech, said to have been delivered in the Divan of Algiers, in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect called *Erika*, or *Purists*, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended African speech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. All the arguments urged in favour of Negro-slavery are applied, with equal force, to justify the plundering and enslaving of Europeans. It also affords, at the same time, a demonstration of the futility of the arguments in defence of the Slave-trade, and of the strength of mind and ingenuity of the author, at his advanced period of life. It furnished, too, a no less convincing proof of his power of imitating the style of other times and nations, than his celebrated parable against persecution. And as the latter led many persons to search the Scriptures with a view to find it, so the former caused many persons to search the book-stores and libraries for the work from which it was said to be extracted.

In the beginning of April following, he was attacked with a fever and complaint of his breast, which

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terminated his existence. The following account of his last illness was written by his friend and physician, Dr. Jones.

“ The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had, for the last twelve months, confined him chiefly to his bed; and, during the extreme painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures—still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself with reading and conversing cheerfully with his family, and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public as well as private nature, with various persons who waited on him for that purpose; and in every instance displayed not only that readiness and disposition of doing good, which was the distinguishing characteristic of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon mental abilities, and not unfrequently indulged himself in those *jeux d'esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard him.

“ About 16 days before his death, he was seized with a feverish indisposition, without any particular symptoms attending it, till the 3d or 4th day, when he complained of a pain in his left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended with a cough, and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe, that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought—acknowledged his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from that Supreme Being who had raised him, from small and low beginnings, to such high rank and consideration among men—and made no doubt but his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind he continued till five days before his death, when his pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery, when an imposthumation, which had

formed itself in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a great quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had sufficient strength to do it; but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed—a calm, lethargic state succeeded—and, on the 17th of April, 1790, about 11 o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of 84 years and 3 months.

The following epitaph on himself was written by him many years previous to his death :

THE BODY
of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
PRINTER,
Like the Cover of an old Book,
Its Contents torn out,
And stript of its Lettering and Gilding;
Lies here Food for Worms :
Yet the Work itself shall not be lost,
For it will (as he believed *) appear once more
In a new and more beautiful Edition,
Corrected and Amended
by
THE AUTHOR.

* This may contradict the opinion of those who are inclined to asperse the memory of this celebrated man—those, who, in the violence of political or religious fanaticism, because he did not come exactly up to the standard of *their* tenets, have said, “that Dr. Franklin was not a believer.”—Here the following anecdote is applicable. As a thoughtless young gentleman, one day in conversation, was ostentatiously expatiating on Religion, and condemning it as a vulgar prejudice, he confidently appealed to the Doctor, expecting his approbation — “Young man (said the Philosopher emphatically) *it is best to believe.*”

GENERAL LEE.

THE family of the Lees is both ancient and respectable, many of them having had connections and intermarriages with the principal families in the English nation, and from a pedigree done for Mr. Thomas Lee, Distributer and Collector of the Stamp Duties for the county and city of Chester, North Wales, we learn that the General's father was John Lee, of Dernhall, in the said county, who was some time a Captain of Dragoons, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of General Barrel's regiment from 1717 to 1742, at which time he was promoted to a regiment of foot. He married Isabella, second daughter of Sir Henry Bunbury, of Stanney, in the county of Chester, Baronet; by this lady he had three sons, Thomas, Harry, and Charles, the youngest, who is the subject of these memoirs.

From his early youth he was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, and being an officer at 11 years of age, may be considered as born in the army, which, tho' it deprived him of some regularity with respect to the mode of his education, yet his genius led him assiduously to cultivate the fields of science, and he acquired a competent skill in the Greek and Latin; while his fondness for travelling gave him also an opportunity of attaining the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages.

Having laid a good foundation, tactics became his favourite study, in which he spent much time and pains, desiring nothing more than to distinguish himself in the profession of arms. We find him very early in America, commanding a company of grenadiers of the 44th regiment, and he was at the battle of Ticonderoga, where General Abercrombie was defeated. Here, it is said, he was shot thro' the body, but fortunately his wound did not prove mortal.

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When he returned to England from America, after the reduction of Montreal, he found a general peace was in contemplation. The cession of Canada was talked of, which gave great uneasiness to every American, as it appeared prejudicial to their interest and safety. On this occasion he exerted himself, and published a pamphlet shewing the importance of this country, which was much approved of by all the friends to America. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, in particular, was pleased to compliment him, and said, "that it could not fail of making a salutary impression." In the year 1762, he bore a Colonel's commission, and served under General Burgoyne in Portugal, and in this service he handsomely distinguished himself.

When a general conclusion was at length put to the war, he returned to England from Portugal, after having received the thanks of his Portuguese Majesty for his services; and Count La Lippe recommended him in the strongest terms to the English court. He had, at this period, a friend and patron in high office, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, so that there was every reason for him to have expected promotion in the English army. But, here, his attachment, his enthusiasm for America, interfered, and prevented. The great Indian, or what we called Pondiack's war, broke out, which the ministerial agents thought their interest to represent as a matter of no consequence. The friends of America thought the reverse, and asserted it would be attended with dreadful waste, ravage and desolation. This brought him once more to publish for the defence and protection of this country, by which he lost the favour of the Ministry, and shut the door to all hopes of preferment in the English army. But he could not live in idleness and inactivity; he left his native country, and entered into the Polish service, and was, of course, absent when the Stamp-act passed; but, altho' absent, he did not cease labouring in the cause of America, as may be learned from many of his letters. He used
every

every argument, and exerted all the abilities he was master of, with every correspondent he had, in either House of Parliament, of any weight or influence, and, at the same time, he had not an inconsiderable number in both.

It must be observed, that this famous act had divided almost every nation in Europe into two different parties—the one, assertors of the prerogative of the British Parliament—the other, of the rights and privileges of America. General Lee, on this occasion, pleaded the cause of the Colonies with such earnestness, as almost to break off all intercourse with the King's Ministers at the court of Vienna, men that he personally loved and esteemed; but, at the same time, it was thought that he pleaded with so much success, as to add not a few friends and partizans to America. These circumstances are mentioned, as they serve to demonstrate that a zeal for the welfare of the Colonies, from the General's earliest acquaintance with them, had been a ruling principle of his life. The present Memoir will testify what he sacrificed, what he did, and what he hazarded, in the last and most important contest, which separated the Colonies from their parent-state; but, there is one circumstance which seems to claim a particular attention, which is, that of all the officers who embarked in the American service, he was the only man who could acquire no additional rank, and perhaps the only one whose fortune could not have been impaired, or, at least, the tenure by which it was held, changed from its former condition into a precarious and arbitrary one, by the success of the British Ministry's schemes; for, had they been completed to the full extent of their wishes, the condition of his fortune had not been altered for the worse; his fortune, tho' not great, was easy, and, it may be said, affluent, for a private gentleman.

The General, who could never stay long in one place, during the years 1771, 1772, to the fall of 1773, had rambled all over Europe; but we can collect nothing material relative to the adventures of his travels,

vels, as his memorandum-books mention only the names of the towns and cities thro' which he passed. That he was a most rapid and very active traveller, is evident; it appears also, that he was engaged with an officer in Italy in an "affair of honour," by which he lost the use of two of his fingers; but having recourse to pistols, the Italian was slain, and he immediately was obliged to fly for his life. His warmth of temper drew him into many rencounters of this kind, in all which he acquitted himself with singular courage, sprightliness of imagination, and great presence of mind.

Much dissatisfied with the appearance of the political horizon at London, on the 16th of August, 1773, he embarked on board the packet for New-York, where he arrived on the 10th of November following, and had a very severe fit of the gout. At this period, the controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies began to be serious, and the General concerted a design of taking a part in favour of America, in case it came to an open rupture.

The destruction of the British East India Company's tea at Boston, the 16th of December, was a prelude to the calamities that afterwards ensued. At this crisis, General Lee's mind was not inobservant or inactive; his conversation, his pen, animated the Colonists to a great degree, and persuaded them to make a persevering resistance.

During this winter, he visited Philadelphia, Williamsburgh, and several other places in Virginia and Maryland, and returned to Philadelphia, a few months before the first Congress met in that city, on the 5th of September. Encouraging and observing what was going forward here, he then paid a visit to New-York, Rhode-Island and Boston, where he arrived on the 1st of August, 1774. The most active political characters on the American theatre now hailed him, and were happy in his acquaintance, not a little pleased with his sanguine, lively temper, considering his presence among them, at this crisis, as a most fortunate
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and propitious omen. General Gage had now issued his proclamation, and tho' Lee was on half-pay in the British service, it did not prevent him from expressing his sentiments, in terms of the most pointed severity against the Ministry. In short, he blazed forth a Whig of the first magnitude, and communicated a portion of his spirit to all with whom he conversed. As he continued travelling, or rather flying, from place to place, he became known to all who distinguished themselves in this important opposition; his company and correspondence were courted, and many occasional political pieces, the production of his pen, were eagerly read, and much admired; and from this popularity, there is no reason to doubt but he expected he should soon become the first in military rank on this continent.

General Gates was settled on a plantation in Berkeley county, Virginia, and, having a great friendship for Lee, persuaded him to purchase, from a Mr. Hite, a very fine valuable tract of land in his neighbourhood, of about 2,700 acres, on which were several good improvements.

On this business, he left his friends in the northern States, and returned to Virginia, where he remained till the month of May, 1775, when he again presented himself at Philadelphia. The American Congress were assembled, and he became daily a greater enthusiast in the cause of liberty. The battle of Lexington, and some other matters, had now ripened the contest, and Lee's active and enterprising disposition was ready for the most arduous purposes. He therefore accepted a commission from the Congress, which was offered to him by some of its principal members; but he found it necessary previously to resign that which he held in the British service. This he did, without delay, in a letter transmitted to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Barrington, his Majesty's Secretary at War, assuring his Lordship, that altho' he had renounced his half-pay, yet, whenever it should please his Majesty to call him forth to any honourable

service against the natural hereditary enemies of his country, or in defence of his most just rights and dignity, no man would obey the righteous summons with more zeal and alacrity than himself; at the same time, the General expressed his disapprobation of the present measures, in the most direct terms, declaring them to be "so absolutely subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject, so destructive to the empire at large, and ultimately so ruinous to his Majesty's own person, dignity and family, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, as a citizen, an Englishman, and a soldier of a free State, to exert his utmost to defeat them."

Professing these sentiments, he received a Continental commission, of the rank of Major General.—As he had made war his study from his youth, seen a variety of service, and distinguished himself for his courage and abilities, one might have imagined he would have immediately been appointed second in command in the American army; but this was not the case. General Ward, of Massachusetts Bay, by some means or other, had received a commission of prior date, and, on this account, perhaps to the injury of the service, he took rank of General Lee, who was at present content to act under him. Whatever his feelings were on this head, he took care to disguise them, and General Ward, on the evacuation of Boston, grew weary of military honour and service, retired to private life, and sent his resignation to Congress.

On the 21st of June, General Washington and General Lee, having received their orders from Congress, left Philadelphia, in order to join the troops assembled near Boston. They were accompanied out of the city, for some miles, by a troop of light horse, and by all the officers of the city militia, on horseback, and at this time General Lee was accounted, and really was a great acquisition to the American cause. On the road they received the news of the affair at Bunker's-hill, and arrived at the camp at
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Cambridge the 2d of July, 1775. The people of Massachusetts received them with every testimony of esteem, and the Congress of that Colony not only presented an address to his Excellency General Washington, as Commander in Chief, but, from a sense of the military abilities of General Lee, presented one to him also, couched in terms of the highest respect.—The General remained with this army till the year 1776, when General Washington, having obtained intelligence of the fitting out of a fleet at Boston, and of the embarkation of troops from thence, which, from the season of the year and other circumstances, he judged must be destined for a southern expedition, gave orders to General Lee, to repair, with such volunteers as were willing to join him, and could be expeditiously raised, to the city of New-York, with a design to prevent the English from taking possession of New-York and the North-River, as they would thereby command the country, and the communication with Canada. The General, on his arrival, began with putting the city in the best posture of defence the season of the year and circumstances would admit of, disarming all such persons upon Long-Island, and elsewhere, whose conduct and declarations had rendered them suspected of designs unfriendly to the views of Congress. He also drew up a Test, which he ordered his officers to offer to those who were reputed to be inimical to the American cause; a refusal to take this, was to be construed as no more or less than an avowal of their hostile intentions; upon which, their persons were to be secured, and sent to Connecticut, where it was judged they could not be so dangerous. Thus, the General excited the people to every spirited measure, and intimidated, by every means, the friends to the English government. At this time, Captain Vandeput, of the Asia, seized a Lieutenant Tiley, and kept him on board his ship in irons. On the principles of retaliation, Lee took into custody, Mr. Stephens, an officer of Government, and informed the Captain what he had done, and that this

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gentleman should not be released until Lieutenant Tiley was returned. This had the desired effect. His determined and decisive disposition had an amazing influence both on the army and people, and the steps he proposed for the management of those who disapproved of the American resistance, struck a terror wherever he appeared.

Congress had now received the account of General Montgomery's unsuccessful expedition against Quebec. As flattering expectations were entertained of the success of this officer, the event threw a gloom on American affairs. To remedy this disaster, they turned their eyes to General Lee, and Congress resolved that he should forthwith repair to Canada, and take upon him the command of the army of the United Colonies in that province. This, tho' he was just recovered from a fit of the gout, he accepted; but, while preparations were making for the important undertaking, Congress changed their determination, and appointed him to the command of the Southern department, in which he became very conspicuous, as a vigilant, brave and active officer. His extensive correspondence, his address under every difficulty, and his unwearied attention to the duties of his station, all evinced his great military capacity, and extreme usefulness to the cause he had espoused, and was warmly engaged in. Every testimony of respect was paid to him by the people of the Northern Colonies, and he experienced a similar treatment in his journey to the Southward. On his arrival at Williamsburgh, every one expressed their high satisfaction at his presence among them; and the troops of that city embraced the opportunity of presenting him with an address, expressive of their sanguine hopes and firm resolutions of uniting with him in the common cause. This example was followed at Newbern, North-Carolina, and a committee was appointed by the inhabitants of that town to wait upon him in their name, and, in an address, to thank him for his generous and manly exertions in defence of American rights and liberties,

ties, and to offer him their cordial congratulations for his appearance among them, at a time when their province was actually invaded by a powerful fleet and army; and to express their happiness to find the command of the troops destined for their protection, placed in the hands of a gentleman of his distinguished character.

Great too was the joy in South-Carolina, where his presence was seasonable and absolutely necessary, as Sir Henry Clinton was actually preparing for an invasion of that province. The minds of all ranks of people were considerably elevated at the sight of him; it diffused an ardour among the military, attended with the most salutary consequences; and his diligence and activity at Charleston, previous to the attack upon Sullivan's-Island, will be long remembered. From a perusal of his letters and directions to the officers commanding at that post, we may justly infer, that America was under no small obligations to him for the signal success there obtained. And here it may be mentioned, as somewhat remarkable, that when General Lee received orders, at Cambridge, to repair to New-York, to watch the motions of the British, he met General Clinton the very day he arrived there; when he came to Virginia, he found him in Hampton-Road; and, just after his arrival in North-Carolina, General Clinton left Cape Fear. Their next meeting was at Fort Sullivan, which must have made Lee appear to Clinton as his evil genius, haunting him for more than 1100 miles, along a coast of vast extent, and meeting him at Philippi.

The affair of Sullivan's Island was a most extraordinary deliverance; for, if the English had succeeded, it is more than probable the Southern Colonies would, at that time, have been compelled to have submitted to the English government. Dreadful was the cannonade, but without effect. Porto Bello, Boccochico, and the other castle at Carthagena, were obliged to strike to Vernon; Fort Lewis, in St. Domingo, yielded to the metal of Admiral Knowles; but in this instance,

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an unfinished battery, constructed with Palmetto logs, resisted, for a whole day, the 12 and 18-pounders of the British fleet, to the astonishment and admiration of every spectator.

The fleet and army under Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker being repulsed, General Lee then flew to the assistance of Georgia, where he continued for some weeks, planning schemes to put that province in a state of defence, and to make an excursion into East Florida, as their Southern frontiers were suffering considerably by the incursions of the Indians, and others, from that quarter.

About this time, the Congress were informed, by General Washington, that Clinton, with the troops under his command, had returned, and joined General Howe at Staten-Island. In consequence of this intelligence, the Congress were convinced, that the English, by collecting their whole force into a point, were determined to make a vigorous exertion at New-York, and, in order to ensure success there, were disposed, for the present, to overlook every other project. The getting possession of that city, and the junction of the two armies under Generals Howe and Burgoyne, it was the Congress's opinion, were the grand objects they had in view, and for the attainment of which they would give up every inferior consideration. Lee's success in the Southern department had increased the good opinion they had conceived of him; his reputation was in its zenith, and they now applied to him for assistance, in the present important situation of their affairs. An express was dispatched to Georgia, directing him to repair, as soon as possible, to Philadelphia—there to wait for such orders as they might judge expedient. He returned with great expedition, the beginning of October, and waited on Congress immediately on his arrival, who, after consulting him, resolved that he should, without delay, repair to the camp at Haerlem, with leave, if he should judge proper, to visit the posts in New-Jersey.

Hitherto General Lee had been successful, and was universally esteemed; but Fortune now began to reverse the scene. On the 13th of December, 1776, at the head of all the men he could collect, he was marching to join General Washington, who had assembled the Pennsylvania Militia, to secure the banks of the Delaware. From the distance of the British cantonment, he was betrayed into a fatal security, by which, in crossing the upper part of New-Jersey from the North-River, he fixed his quarters, and lay carelessly guarded, at some distance from the main body. This circumstance being communicated to Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the British light-horse, and had then made a desultory excursion at the head of a small detachment, he conducted his measures with such address and activity, that Lee was carried off, tho' several guarded posts and armed patrols lay in the way. Great was the joy of the British, and equal the consternation of the Americans, at this unexpected event. The making of a single officer prisoner, in other circumstances, would have been a matter of little moment, but, in the present state of the Continental forces, where a general deficiency of military skill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance, the loss of a commander, whose spirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profession, acquired by actual service, was indeed of the utmost importance.

The Congress, on hearing the news, ordered their President to write to General Washington, desiring him to send a flag to General Howe, for the purpose of enquiring in what manner General Lee was treated, and if he found that it was not agreeable to his rank and character, to send a remonstrance to General Howe on the subject. This produced much inconvenience on both sides, and much calamity to individuals. A cartel had sometime before been established for the exchange of prisoners between the Generals Howe and Washington, which had hitherto been carried into execution as far as time and circumstances

stances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to Government, it was said that General Howe was tied down, by his instructions, from parting with him upon any terms, if the fortune of war should throw him into his power. General Washington, not having at this time any prisoners of equal rank with General Lee, proposed to exchange six field officers for him, the number being intended to balance the disparity; or, if this was not accepted, he required that he should be treated suitably to his station, according to the practice established among polished nations, till an opportunity offered for a fair and direct exchange. To this it was answered, that, as Mr. Lee was a deserter from his Majesty's service, he was not to be considered as a prisoner of war; that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel, nor could he receive any of its benefits. This brought on a fruitless discussion, whether General Lee, who had resigned his half-pay at the beginning of the troubles, could be considered as a deserter; or whether he could, with justice, be excluded from the general benefits of a cartel in which no particular exception of persons had been made. In the mean time, General Lee was guarded with all the strictness which a state-criminal of the first magnitude could have experienced in the most dangerous political conjuncture. This conduct not only suspended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the American side, and Colonel Campbell, who had hitherto been treated with great humanity by the people of Boston, was now thrown into a dungeon.

Those British officers who were prisoners in the Southern Colonies, tho' not treated with equal rigour, were, however, abridged of their parole liberty. It was at the same time declared, that their future treatment should, in every degree, be regulated by that which General Lee experienced, and that their persons should be answerable, in the utmost extent, for any violence that was offered to him. Thus matters continued till the capture of the British army under

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General Burgoyne at Saratogo, October 17, 1777. A change of conduct towards him then took place; he was allowed his parole in New-York, lodged in the same house with Lieutenant Colonel Butler, of the 38th, dined with General Robertson, commander of the town, and with many principal officers and families, and a short time after was exchanged.

The first military scene in which General Lee appeared after his liberation, was the battle of Monmouth, which determined his career in the American army. Before this affair, his character in general was very respectable; many of the warm friends of America highly valued the important services he had rendered to the United States.

From the beginning of the contest, he had excited and directed the military spirit which pervaded the continent; his conversation raised an emulation among the officers, and he taught them to pay a proper attention to the health, cloathing, and comfortable subsistence of their men; add to this, his zeal was unwearied in inculcating the principles of liberty among all ranks of people; hence, it is said, that a strong party was formed in Congress, and by some discontented officers in the army, to raise Lee to the first command; and it hath been suggested by many, that General Lee's conduct at the battle of Monmouth was intended to effect this plan; for, could the odium of the defeat have been at that time thrown on General Washington, and his attack of the British army made to appear rash and imprudent, there is great reason to suppose he would have been deprived of his command. It hath been observed by some writers on this subject, that when General Lee was taken prisoner, the American army was on no par with the Royal forces, but the case was much changed on his return from captivity. He found them improved, and daring enough to attack even the British grenadiers with firmness and resolution. Had not this been the case, and General Lee, when ordered to attack the rear of the Royal army, seeing his men beat
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back with disgrace, unwilling to rally, and acting with fear and trepidation, his retreat would have been necessary, his conduct crowned with applause, and his purposes effected; but, disappointed in this view, the retreat hath been imputed to himself, as he could not alledge the want of spirit in his troops for the justification of his conduct.

The British army, early on Thursday the 25th of June, completed their evacuation of Philadelphia, having before transported their stores and most of their artillery into the Jerseys, where they had thrown up some works, and several regiments were encamped; they manned the lines the preceding night, and retreated over the commons, crossing at Gloucester Point. A party of American horse pursued them very close; however, nothing very material happened till the 28th, when, about 3 o'clock in the morning, the British army moved on their way to Middletown Point. About 11 o'clock, the American van, commanded by General Lee, overtook them; but he soon retreated, and was met by General Washington, who formed on the first proper piece of ground near Monmouth Court-house. While this was doing, two pieces of cannon, supported by Colonel Livingston and Colonel Stewart, with a picked corps of 300 men, kept off the main body of the English, and made a great slaughter. Very severe skirmishing ensued, and the American army advancing, the British made their last efforts upon a small body of Pennsylvania troops at and about Mr. Tennant's house; they then gave way, leaving the field covered with dead and wounded. General Washington's troops pursued for about a mile, when, night coming on, and the men exceedingly fatigued with marching and the hot weather, they halted about half a mile beyond the ground of the principal action. The British took a strong post in their front, secured on both flanks by morasses and thick woods, where they remained until about 12 at night, and then retreated. In consequence of this action, General Lee was put under arrest, and tried by a Court

Court Martial at Brunswick, the 4th July following. The charges exhibited against him were,

1st, For disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly, For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

3dly, For disrespect to the Commander in Chief, in two letters, dated the 1st July and 28th June.

The letter, on which the third charge is founded, is as follows :

Camp, English Town, 1st July, 1778.

SIR,

FROM the knowledge that I have of your Excellency's character, I must conclude, that nothing but the misinformation of some very stupid, or misrepresentation of some very wicked person, could have occasioned your making use of such very singular expressions as you did, on my coming up to the ground where you had taken post; they implied, that I was guilty either of disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. Your Excellency will, therefore, infinitely oblige me, by letting me know, on which of these three articles you ground your charge, that I may prepare for my justification, which, I have the happiness to be confident, I can do, to the Army, to the Congress, to America, and to the World in general. Your Excellency must give me leave to observe, that neither yourself, nor those about your person, could, from your situation, be, in the least, judges of the merits or demerits of our manœuvres; and, to speak with a becoming pride, I can assert, that to these manœuvres the success of the day was entirely owing. I can boldly say, that, had we remained on the first ground—or, had we advanced—or, had the retreat been conducted in a manner different from what it was, this whole army, and the interests of America, would have risked being sacrificed. I ever had, and, I hope, ever shall have, the greatest respect and

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veneration for General Washington; I think him endowed with many great and good qualities; but, in this instance, I must pronounce, that he has been guilty of an act of cruel injustice towards a man who had certainly some pretensions to the regard of every servant of his country; and I think, Sir, I have a right to demand some reparation for the injury committed; and, unless I can obtain it, I must, in justice to myself, when the campaign is closed, which I believe will close the war, retire from a service, at the head of which is placed a man capable of offering such injuries;—but, at the same time, in justice to you, I must repeat, that I, from my soul, believe, that it was not a motion of your own breast, but instigated by some of those dirty earwigs, who will for ever insinuate themselves near persons in high office; for I am really assured, that when General Washington acts from himself, no man in his army will have reason to complain of injustice and indecorum.

I am, Sir, and I hope ever shall have reason to continue,

Yours, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

His Excellency General Washington.

Head-Quarters, English Town,

28th June, 1778.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, dated, through mistake, the 1st of July, expressed, as I conceive, in terms highly improper. I am not conscious of having made use of any very singular expressions at the time of my meeting you, as you intimate. What I recollect to have said, was dictated by duty, and warranted by the occasion. As soon as circumstances will admit, you shall have an opportunity either of justifying yourself to the Army, to Congress, to America, and to the World in general, or of convincing them that you are guilty of a breach of orders, and of misbehaviour before the enemy on the 28th instant, in not attacking them as you had been directed, and in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The Court met, by several adjournments till the 12th of August, when they found the unfortunate General guilty of the several charges bro't against him, and sentenced him to be suspended from any commission in the armies of the United States of North America, for the term of 12 months. But it was usual, in America, and thought necessary, that the sentence of every Court Martial should be ratified or confirmed by Congress; the proceedings, therefore, of the Court, were accordingly transmitted to them, and the General repaired to Philadelphia to await their decision. During his stay there on this business, he was involved in several disputes; and, tho' his affair might be considered, as yet, *sub judice*, yet the conversation of the city was rather against him, which induced him to publish, as it were a second defence.

It was a considerable time before Congress took the General's trial under their consideration, during which our unfortunate hero continued smarting under the frowns of fortune, and the malignant tongues of men; and, to add to his sufferings, in this state of suspense, he received a letter from Colonel Lawrens, one of General Washington's aids, informing him, "that in contempt of decency and truth, he had publicly abused General Washington, in the grossest terms;" that "the relation in which he stood to him, forbade him to pass such conduct unnoticed; he therefore demanded the satisfaction he was entitled to, and desired, that as soon as General Lee should think himself at liberty, he would appoint time and place, and name his weapons." Without hesitation, this was accepted, and he made choice of a brace of pistols, declining the small sword, because he was rather in a weak state of body, having lately received a fall from a horse, and also taken a quantity of medicine, to baffle a fit of the gout, which he apprehended. They met, according to appointment, and discharged their pistols, when General Lee received a slight wound in his side; and it hath been said, that, on this occasion, he displayed the greatest fortitude and courage.

Shortly after, the proceedings of the Court Martial, on his trial, came under consideration in Congress, and produced debates for several evenings; but, finally, the sentence was confirmed. The General was much dissatisfied with it, and his mind extremely embittered against one of the members (Mr. Henry Drayton, of South Carolina). This gentleman's conduct was vituperated by Lee in the severest language, because he opposed in Congress a division of the several charges brought against him, but argued and insisted upon lumping them all together, to be decided by one question. In this he was ingeniously and warmly opposed by a very amiable and worthy gentleman, Mr. William Paca, a late Governor of Maryland.— Here we must observe, that, prior to this, Mr. Drayton was by no means one of the General's favourites; he had taken some unnecessary liberties with his character, in a charge which he delivered, as Chief Justice, to a Grand Jury in Charleston, South Carolina. His temper, thus exasperated, he could no longer refrain from emphatically expressing his sense of the injuries he had received from Mr. Drayton. These were delivered, intermixed with threatening language, to Mr. Hutson, his colleague and friend, who communicated it. A correspondence ensued, remarkable for its poignancy of reply.

This correspondence, which produced nothing but inkshed, being finished, the General retired to his plantation in Berkley county, Virginia, where, still irritated with the scurrilous attacks he had met with from several writers, and others, in Philadelphia, he could not forbear giving vent to the bitterness of his feelings, and, in this misanthropic disposition, composed a set of Queries, which he styled Political and Military. These he sent, by one of his aids, to the printers of Philadelphia, for publication; but they tho't it imprudent to admit them into their papers, as General Washington possessed the hearts and admiration of every one; he, therefore, applied to the Editor of the Maryland Journal, at Baltimore, who indulg-

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ed him with their insertion. The Queries no sooner made their appearance, but a considerable disturbance took place among the citizens of Baltimore; the printer was called upon for the author, and obliged to give up his name.

Lee remained at his retreat, living in a style peculiar to himself, in a house more like a barn than a palace. Glass windows and plaistering would have been luxurious extravagance, and his furniture consisted of a very few necessary articles; indeed, he was now so rusticated that he could have lived in a tub with Diogenes; however, he had got a few select valuable authors, and these enabled him to pass away his time in this obscurity. In the fall, 1782, he began to be weary with the sameness of his situation, and experiencing his unfitness for the management of country business, he came to a determination to sell his estate, and procure a little settlement near some sea-port town, where he might learn what the world was doing, and enjoy the conversation of mankind.

His farm, tho' an excellent tract of land, rather brought him in debt at the end of the year, and added to the difficulties he laboured under. It is no wonder, then, he was inclined to relinquish his present system of life. He left Berkley, and came to Baltimore, where he stayed near a week with some old friends, and then took his leave for Philadelphia.

It is presumed, he now found a difference between a General in command, and one destitute of everything but the name; for we do not find him entertained at the house of any private citizen. He took lodgings at an inn, the sign of the Connestigoe waggon, in Market-street. After being three or four days in the city, he was taken with a shivering, the forerunner of a fever, which put a period to his existence October 2d, 1782.

A friend of the Editor's was at the inn when he took his departure from this world. The servants informed him that General Lee was dying; upon which he went into the room; he was then struggling with
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the King of Terrors, and seemed to have lost his senses; the last words he heard him speak were, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

The citizens of Philadelphia, calling to mind his former services, appeared to be much affected with his death. His funeral was attended with a very large concourse of people, the Clergy of different denominations, his Excellency the President of Congress, the President and some Members of the Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, his Excellency the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, M. Marbois, Secretary to the Embassy, the Minister of Finance, General Baron de Viominil, Duke de Lausan, the Minister of War, and several other Officers of distinction both in the French and American armies.

From what hath been observed in these Memoirs, we may, with justice, affirm, that General Lee was a great and sincere friend to the rights and liberties of mankind, and that it was this grand principle which led him to take part on the side of America. It appears, that, from his youth, he was bred up with the highest regard for the noble sentiments of freedom; his education and reading strengthened them; the historians and orators of Greece and Rome, with whom he was considerably conversant, added to the sacred flame, and his travels, in many parts of the world, did not tend to diminish it.

The General, in his person, was of a genteel make, and rather above the middle size; his remarkable aquiline nose rendered his face somewhat disagreeable. He was master of a most genteel address; but, in the latter part of his life, became excessively negligent of the graces, both in garb and behaviour. A talent for repartee, united with a quickness of penetration, created him many enemies. A character so eccentric and singular, could not fail of attracting the popular attention. His *small* friends frequently passed severe criticisms on his words and actions.—Narrowly watched, every little slip or failure was noticed, and represented to his disadvantage. The ob-
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jections to his moral conduct were numerous, and his great fondness for dogs brought on him the dislike and frowns of the fair sex; for the General would permit his canine adherents to follow him to the parlour, the bed-room, and, sometimes, they might be seen on a chair, next his elbow, at table.

There is great probability that the General was the first person who suggested the idea that America ought to declare herself independent. When he was sent by the Commander in Chief to New-York, he behaved with such activity and spirit, infusing the same into the minds of the troops and the people, that Mr. John Adams said, "a happier expedition never was projected; and that the whole Whig world were blessing him for it." About this time, Doctor Franklin gave Mr. Thomas Paine, the celebrated author of "Common Sense," an introductory letter to him, in which were these words, "The bearer, Mr. Paine, has requested a line of introduction to you, which I give the more willingly, as I know his sentiments are not very different from yours." A few days after, the Doctor writes again, "There is a kind of suspence in men's minds here, at present, waiting to see what terms will be offered from England. I expect none that we can accept; and when that is generally seen, we shall be more unanimous, and more decisive. Then, your proposed "Solemn League and Covenant" will go better down, and, perhaps, most of your other strong measures adopted." In a letter to Edward Rutledge, Esq. in the spring of 1776, then a member of the Continental Congress, the General thus expresses himself, "As your affairs prosper, the timidity of the Senatorial part of the Continent, great and small, grows and extends itself. By the Eternal G—, unless you declare yourselves independent, establish a more certain and fixed Legislature than that of a temporary courtesy of the People, you richly deserve to be enslaved; and I think that, far from impossible, it should be your lot; as, without a more systematic intercourse with France and Holland, we
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have not the means of carrying on the war." There are other epistles of his of a similar spirit and diction.

The more we investigate the General's character and conduct, the more conspicuous his services will appear. In the infancy of the American dispute, we find him continually suggesting and forwarding plans for the defence of the country; and tho' he was a professed enemy to a standing army, he was always recommending a well-regulated militia. This he considered as the natural strength of a country, and absolutely necessary for its safety and preservation.

He has frequently asserted, that a more pernicious idea could not enter into the heads of the citizens, than that rigid discipline, and a strict subjection to military rules, were incompatible with civil liberty; and he was of opinion, that when the bulk of a community would not submit to the ordinances necessary for the preservation of military discipline, their liberty could not be of long continuance.

The liberty of every Commonwealth must be protected ultimately by military force. Military force depends upon order and discipline; without order and discipline, the greatest number of armed men are only a contemptible mob; a handful of regulars must disperse them. It follows, then, that the citizens at large must submit to the means of becoming soldiers, or that they must commit the protection of their lives and property to a distinct body of men, who will, naturally, in a short time set up a professional interest, separate from the community at large. To this cause we may attribute the subversion of every free State that history presents to us. The Romans were certainly the first and most glorious people that have figured on the face of the globe; they continued free longest. Every citizen was a soldier, and a soldier not in name, but in fact; by which is meant, that they were the most rigid observers of military institutions. The General, therefore, thought it expedient that every State in America should be extremely careful to per-

perfect the laws relative to their militia; and, that, where they were glaringly defective, they should be made more efficient; and that it should be established as a point of honour, and the criterion of a virtuous citizen, to pay the greatest deference to the common necessary laws of a camp.

The most difficult task the Editor met with in collecting and arranging these posthumous papers, arose from his desire of not giving offence to such characters as had been the object of the General's aversion and resentment. Unhappily his disappointments had soured his temper; the affair of Monmouth, several pieces of scurrility from the press, and numerous instances of private slander and defamation, so far got the better of his philosophy, as to provoke him in the highest degree, and he became, as it were, angry with all mankind.

To this exasperated disposition we may impute the origin of his Political Queries, and a number of satirical hints thrown out, both in his conversation and writing, against the Commander in Chief. Humanity will draw a veil over the involuntary errors of sensibility, and pardon the sallies of a suffering mind, as its presages did not meet with an accomplishment.—General Washington, by his retirement, demonstrated to the world, that power was not his object, that America had nothing to fear from his ambition; but that she was honoured with a specimen of such exalted patriotism as could not fail to attract the attention and admiration of the most distant nations.

GENERAL PUTNAM.

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who, thro' a regular gradation of promotion, became the senior Major-General in the army of the United States, and next in rank to General Washington, was born at Salem, in Providence, now the State of Massachusetts, on the 7th of January, 1718. His father, Captain Joseph Putnam, was the son of John Putnam, who, with two other brothers, came from the south of England, and were among the first settlers of Salem.

When we thus behold a person, from the humble walks of life, starting unnoticed in the career of fame, and, by an undeviating progress thro' a life of honour, arriving at the highest dignity in the State, curiosity is strongly excited, and philosophy loves to trace the path of glory, from the cradle of obscurity to the summit of elevation.

Altho' our ancestors, the first settlers of this land, amidst the extreme pressures of poverty and danger, early instituted schools for the education of youth designed for the learned professions; yet it was thought sufficient to instruct those destined to labour on the earth, in reading, writing, and such rudiments of arithmetic, as might be requisite for keeping the accounts of their little transactions with each other.— Few farmers sons had more advantages, none less. In this state of mediocrity it was the lot of young Putnam to be placed. His early instruction was not considerable, and the active scenes of life in which he was afterwards engaged, prevented the opportunity of great literary improvement. His numerous letters, tho' deficient in scholastic accuracy, always display the goodness of his heart, and, frequently, the strength of his native genius. He had a laconic mode of expression, and an unaffected epigrammatic turn characterised his writings.

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To compensate partially for the deficiency of education (tho' nothing can remove or counterbalance the inconveniences experienced from it in public life), he derived from his parents the source of innumerable advantages in the stamina of a vigorous constitution. Nature, liberal in bestowing on him bodily strength, hardiness and activity, was by no means parsimonious in mental endowments.

His disposition was as frank and generous, as his mind was fearless and independent. He disguised nothing; indeed, he seemed incapable of disguise. Perhaps, in the intercourse he was ultimately obliged to have with an artful world, his sincerity, on some occasions, out-went his discretion. Altho' he had too much suavity in his nature to commence a quarrel, he had too much sensibility not to feel, and too much honour not to resent an intended insult. The first time he went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size and age; after bearing the sarcasms until his patience was worn out, he challenged, engaged, and vanquished his unmannerly antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. While a stripling, his ambition was to perform the labour of a man, and to excel in athletic diversions. In that rude but masculine age, whenever the village youth assembled on their usual occasions of festivity, pitching the bar, running, leaping and wrestling were favourite amusements. At such gymnastic exercises (in which during the heroic times of ancient Greece and Rome, conquest was considered as the promise of future military fame) he bore the palm from almost every ring.

Before the refinements of luxury, and the consequent increase of expences, had rendered the maintenance of a family inconvenient or burdensome in America, the sexes entered into matrimony at an early age. Competence, attainable by all, was the limit of pursuit. After the hardships of making a new settlement were overcome, and the evils of penury removed, the inhabitants enjoyed, in the
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lot of equality, innocence and security, scenes equally delightful with those pictured by the glowing imagination of the poets, in their favourite pastoral life, or fabulous golden age. Indeed, the condition of mankind was never more enviable. Neither disparity of age and fortune, nor schemes of ambition and grandeur, nor the pride or ambition and avarice of high-minded and mercenary parents, interposed those obstacles to the union of congenial souls, which frequently, in more polished society, prevent, imbitter, or destroy all the felicity of the connubial state. Mr. Putnam, before he attained the 21st year of his age, married Miss Pope, daughter of Mr. John Pope, of Salem, by whom he had ten children. He lost the wife of his youth in 1764. Some time after, he married Mrs. Gardiner, widow of the late Mr. Gardiner, of Gardiner's-Island, by whom he had no issue. She died in 1777.

In the year 1739, he removed to Pomfret, an inland fertile town in Connecticut, 40 miles east of Hartford; having there purchased a considerable tract of land, he applied himself successfully to agriculture.

The first years, on a new farm, are not, however, exempt from disasters and disappointments, which can only be remedied by stubborn and patient industry. Our farmer, sufficiently occupied in building an house and barn, felling woods, making fences, sowing grain, planting orchards, and taking care of his stock, had to encounter, in turn, the calamities occasioned by drought in summer, blasts in harvest, loss of cattle in winter, and the desolation of his sheepfold by wolves. In one night, he had 70 fine sheep and goats killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded. This havock was committed by a she-wolf, which, with her annual whelps, had for several years infested the vicinity. The young were commonly destroyed by the vigilance of the hunters, but the old one was too sagacious to come within reach of gunshot; upon being closely pursued, she would generally

ly fly to the western woods, and return the next winter, with another litter of whelps.

This wolf, at length, became such a serious nuisance, that Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbours, to hunt alternately until they could destroy her. Two, by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known, that, having lost the toes from one foot, by a steel trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige, the pursuers recognized, in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut River, and found she had turned back, in a direct course towards Pomfret, they immediately returned, and, by ten o'clock the next morning, the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about 3 miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam. The people soon collected, with dogs, guns, straw, fire, and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus, several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back, badly wounded, and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw had no effect; nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit her retirement. Wearied with such fruitless attempts (which had brought the time to ten o'clock at night), Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain; he proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern and shoot the wolf; the negro declined the hazardous service. Then it was that their master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest she should escape thro' some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbours strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprize; but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and having provided several strips of birch bark, the only combustible material which he could obtain, that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave, prepared for his descent. Having, accordingly, divested

vested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back, at a concerted signal, he entered, head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

The aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square, from thence it descends, obliquely, 15 feet, then, running horizontally about 10 feet more, it ascends gradually 16 feet towards its termination. The sides of this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone, and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is very slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright, nor in any part more than 3 feet in width.

Having groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He, cautiously proceeding onward, came to the ascent, which he slowly mounted on his hands and knees, until he discovered the glaring eye-balls of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Starting, at the sight of the fire, she gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discovery, he kicked the rope, as a signal to be drawn up. The people at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf, and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such celerity, that his shirt was stripped over his head, and his skin severely lacerated.

After he had adjusted his clothes, and loaded his gun with 9 buck-shot, holding a torch in one hand and the musket in the other, he descended a second time. When he drew nearer than before, the wolf assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling,
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rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and, dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude and on the point of springing at him. At the critical instant, he levelled, and fired at her head.—Stunned with the shock, and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found himself drawn out of the cave. But, having refreshed himself, and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time.—Once more he came within sight of the wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose, and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope (still tied round his legs), the people above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together!

Prosperity, at length, began to attend the affairs of Mr. Putnam. He was acknowledged to be an indefatigable farmer. His fields were mostly enclosed with stone walls. His crops commonly succeeded, because the land was well tilled and manured.—His pastures and meadows became luxuriant. His cattle were of the best breed and in good order. His garden and fruit trees prolific. With the avails of the surplusage of his produce, foreign articles were purchased.—Within doors he found the compensation of his labours, in plenty of excellent provisions, as well as in the happiness of domestic society.

But the time had now arrived, which was to turn the instruments of husbandry into weapons of hostility, and to exchange the hunting of wolves, who had ravaged the sheep-folds, for the pursuit after savages who had desolated the frontiers. Mr. Putnam was about 37 years old in the war between England and France, which preceded the last in America. His reputation must have been favourably known to the Government, since, among the first troops that were levied by Connecticut, in 1755, he was appointed to the command of a company in Lyman's regiment of Provincials.

As he was extremely popular, he found no difficulty in inlisting his complement of recruits from the
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most hardy, enterprizing young men of his neighbourhood. The regiment joined the army at the opening of the campaign, not far distant from Crown-Point.— Soon after his arrival in camp, he became intimately connected with the famous partizan Captain, afterwards Major Rogers, with whom he was frequently associated in traversing the wilderness, reconnoitring the enemy's lines, gaining intelligence, and taking straggling prisoners, as well as in beating up the quarters, and surprising the advanced pickets of their army. For these operations, a corps of Rangers was formed from the irregulars. The first time Rogers and Putnam were detached with a party of these light troops, it was the fortune of the latter to preserve, with his own hand, the life of the former, and to cement their friendship with the blood of one of their enemies.

The object of this expedition was, to obtain an accurate knowledge of the position and state of the works at Crown-Point. It was impracticable to approach with their party near enough for this purpose, without being discovered. Alone, the undertaking was sufficiently hazardous, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians, who infested the woods. Our two partizans, however, left all their men at a convenient distance, with strict orders to continue concealed until their return. Having thus cautiously taken their arrangements, they advanced with the profoundest silence, in the evening, and lay, during the night, contiguous to the fortress. Early in the morning, they approached so close as to be able to give satisfactory information to the General who had sent them, on the several points to which their attention had been directed; but Captain Rogers being at a little distance from Captain Putnam, fortuitously met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fuzee with one hand, and with the other attempted to stab him, while he called to an adjacent guard for assistance. The guard answered. Putnam perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost or farther
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alarm given by firing, ran rapidly to them, while they were yet struggling, and with the butt-end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The partizans, to elude pursuit, precipitated their flight, joined the party, and returned without loss to the encampment.

The war was chequered with various fortunes in different quarters—such as the total defeat of General Braddock, and the splendid victory of Sir William Johnson over the French troops commanded by the Baron Dieskau. The brilliancy of this success was necessary to console the Americans for the disgrace of that disaster. Here I might, indeed, take a pride in contrasting the conduct of the British Regulars, who had been ambuscaded on the Monongahela, with that of the Provincials (under Johnson), who, having been attacked in their lines, gallantly repulsed the enemy, and took their General prisoner: I do not consider myself at liberty to swell this essay with reflections on events, in which Putnam was not directly concerned. The time for which the Colonial troops engaged to serve, terminated with the campaign. Putnam was re-appointed, and again took the field in 1756.

Few are so ignorant of war as not to know, that military adventures, in the night, are always extremely liable to accidents. Captain Putnam, having been commanded to reconnoitre the enemy's camp at the Ovens near Ticonderoga, took the brave Lieutenant Robert Durkee as his companion. In attempting to execute these orders, he narrowly escaped being taken himself in the first instance, and had nearly killed his friend in the second. It was customary for the British and Provincial troops to place their fires round their camp, which frequently exposed them to the enemy's scouts and patrols. A contrary practice, then unknown in the English army, prevailed among the French and Indians. The plan was much more rational—they kept their fires in the centre, lodged their men circularly at a distance, and posted their centinels in the surrounding darkness. Our partizans approached the camp, and, supposing the centinels were within
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the circle of fires, crept upon their hands and knees with the greatest possible caution, until, to their utter astonishment, they found themselves in the thickest of the enemy. The centinels discovering them, fired, and slightly wounded Durkee in the thigh. He and Putnam had no alternative. They fled. The latter being foremost, and scarcely able to see his hand before him, soon plunged into a clay-pit. Durkee, almost at the identical moment, came tumbling after. Putnam, by no means pleased at finding a companion, and believing him to be one of the enemy, lifted his tomahawk to give the deadly blow—when Durkee (who had followed so close as to know him) enquired whether he had escaped unhurt?—Captain Putnam, instantly dropped his weapon, and both springing from the pit, made good their retreat to the neighbouring hedges, amidst a shower of random shot. There they betook themselves to a large log, by the side of which they lodged the remainder of the night. Before they laid down, Putnam said he had a little rum, which could never be more acceptable or necessary; but, on examining the canteen, which hung under his arm, he found the enemy had pierced it with their balls, and that there was not a drop of liquor left.—The next day, he found 12 bullet-holes in his blanket.

In the month of August, 500 men were sent under the orders of Majors Rogers and Putnam, to watch the motions of the enemy near Ticonderoga. At South-Bay they separated the party into two equal divisions, and Rogers took a position on Wood-Creek, 12 miles distant from Putnam. Upon being, some time afterwards, discovered, they formed a re-union, and concerted measures for returning to Fort Edward.

As soon as the heavy dew which had fallen the preceding night would permit, the detachment moved in one body, Putnam being in front, D'Ell in the centre, and Rogers in the rear. The impervious growth of shrubs and underbrush, that had sprung up where the land had been partially cleared some years before, occasioned this change in the order of march. At the
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moment of moving, the famous partizan Molang, who had been sent with 500 men to intercept our party, was not more than one mile and a half distant from them. Having heard the firing, he hastened to lay an ambuscade at that part of the wood most favourable to his project. Major Putnam was just emerging from the thicket to the common forest, when the enemy rose, and, with discordant yells and whoops, commenced an attack on the right of his division. Surprised, but undismayed, Putnam halted, returned the fire, and passed the word for the other divisions to advance for his support. D'Ell came. The action, tho' widely scattered, and principally fought between man and man, soon grew general and intensely warm.—It would be as difficult as useless to describe this irregular and ferocious mode of fighting. Rogers came not up, but, as he declared afterwards, formed a circular file between our party and Wood-Creek, to prevent their being taken in the rear, or enfiladed. Successful as he commonly was, his conduct did not always pass without unfavourable imputations. Notwithstanding, it was a common saying in the camp, “that Rogers always *sent*, but Putnam *led* his men to action;”—yet, in justice, it ought to be remarked here, that the latter has never been known, in relating the story of this day's disaster, to affix any stigma upon the conduct of the former.

Major Putnam, perceiving it would be impossible to cross the creek, determined to maintain his ground. Inspired by his example, the officers and men behaved with great bravery; sometimes they fought aggregately in open view, and sometimes individually under cover, taking aim from behind the bodies of trees, and acting in a manner independent of each other.—For himself, having discharged his fusee several times, at length it missed fire, whilst the muzzle was pressed against the breast of a Savage. This warrior, availing himself of the indefensible attitude of his adversary, with a tremendous war-whoop, sprang forward with his lifted hatchet, and compelled him to surrender;

der; and having disarmed and bound him to a tree, returned to the battle.

The intrepid Captains D'Elli and Harman, who now commanded, were forced to give ground for a little distance. The Savages, conceiving this to be the certain harbinger of victory, rushed impetuously on, with dreadful and redoubled cries. But our two partizans, collecting a handful of brave men, gave the pursuers so warm a reception, as to oblige them, in turn, to retreat a little beyond the spot where the action had commenced. Here they made a stand. This change of ground occasioned the tree to which Putnam was tied, to be directly between the fire of the two parties. Human imagination can hardly figure to itself a more deplorable situation. The balls flew incessantly from either side; many struck the tree, while some passed thro' the sleeves and skirts of his coat. In this state of jeopardy, unable to move his body, stir his limbs, or even to incline his head, he remained more than an hour—so equally balanced and so obstinate was the fight!—At one moment, while the battle swerved in favour of the enemy, a young Savage took an odd way of discovering his humour: He found Putnam bound; he might have dispatched him with a single blow; but he loved better to excite the terrors of his prisoner, by hurling a tomahawk at his head—or, rather, it should seem his object was, to see how near he could throw it without touching him;—the weapon struck in the tree a number of times at a hair's-breadth distance from the mark. When the Indian had finished his amusement, a French Bas-Officer, a much more inveterate savage by nature, even tho' descended from so humane and polished a nation, perceiving Putnam, came up to him, and levelling a fuzee within a foot of his breast, attempted to discharge it—it missed fire; ineffectually did the intended victim solicit the treatment due to his situation, by repeating that he was a prisoner of war. The degenerate Frenchman did not understand the language of honour or of nature; deaf to their voice, and dead to

sensibility, he violently and repeatedly pushed the muzzle of his gun against Putnam's ribs, and finally gave him a cruel blow on the jaw with the butt of his piece. After this dastardly deed he left him.

At length, the active intrepidity of D'Ell and Harman, seconded by the persevering valour of their followers, prevailed. They drove from the field the enemy, who left about 90 dead behind them. As they were retiring, Putnam was untied by the Indian who had made him prisoner, and whom he afterwards called master. Having been conducted for some distance from the place of action, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes, loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled upon him, strongly pinioned, and his wrists tied as closely together as they could be pulled with a cord. After he had marched, thro' no pleasant paths, in this painful manner, for many a tedious mile, the party, who were exceedingly fatigued, halted to breathe. His hands were now immoderately swelled, by the tightness of the ligature, and the pain had become intolerable;—his feet were so much scratched, that the blood dropped fast from them. Exhausted, with bearing a burden above his strength, and frantic with torments exquisite beyond endurance, he intreated the Interpreter to implore, as the last and only grace he desired of the Savages, that they would knock him on the head, and take his scalp at once, or loose his hands. A French officer instantly interposing, ordered his hands to be unbound, and some of the packs to be taken off. By this time, the Indian who had captured him, and had been absent with the wounded, coming up, gave him a pair of mocasons, and expressed great indignation at the unworthy treatment his prisoner had suffered.

The Savage Chief again returned to the care of the wounded, and the Indians, about 200 in number, went before the rest of the party to the place where the whole were that night to encamp. They took with them Major Putnam; they (besides innumerable other outrages) had the barbarity to inflict a deep wound, with

a tomahawk, in his left cheek. His sufferings were in this place to be consummated. A scene of horror, infinitely greater than had ever met his eyes before, was now preparing. It was determined to roast him alive.—For this purpose, they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labours, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame;—still they strove to kindle it, until, at last, the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body;—he often shifted sides as the fire approached. The sight, at the very idea of which all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come—he summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, as far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost him a single pang, but for the idea of home—but for the remembrance of those sweet endearments of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their beloved offspring. His tho't was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, passed—Nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things—when a French officer rushed thro' the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was Molang himself—to whom a Savage, unwilling to see another human sacrifice immolated, had ran and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians,
whose

whose hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French Commander, fearful to trust him alone with them, remained, until he could deliver him, in safety, into the hands of his master.

The Savage approached the prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit, but finding that he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane Savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive (the refreshment being finished), he took the mocasons from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists; then, directing him to lie down on his back, upon the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree, the other arm extended and bound in the same manner—his legs were stretched apart, and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender, poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body, from head to foot. On each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture, he remained until morning. During this night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate, that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling, when he reflected on this ludicrous groupe for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and mocasons, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given him, which he sucked thro' his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga, and the prisoner was placed under a French guard. The Savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took every opportunity of manifesting their malevolence
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for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures, but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the Interpreter's quarters, and enquired, whether he had a Provincial Major in his custody? He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition—without coat, waistcoat or hose—the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged—his beard long and squalid—his legs torn by thorns and briars—his face gashed with wounds, and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits, consistent with the prudence of a prisoner, and the meekness of a christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by that sympathetic patron of the distressed.

The capture of Frotenac by Gen. Bradstreet, afforded occasion for an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler was comprehended in the cartel. A generous spirit can never be satisfied with imposing tasks for its generosity to accomplish. Apprehensive, if it should be known, that Putnam was a distinguished partizan, his liberation might be retarded, and knowing that there were officers, who from the length of their captivity, had a claim of priority to exchange, he had, by his happy address, induced the Governor to offer, that whatever officer he might think proper to nominate, should be included in the present cartel. With great politeness in manner, but seeming indifference as to object, he expressed his warmest acknowledgements to the Governor, and said,
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“ There is an old man here, who is a Provincial Major, and wishes to be at home with his wife and children. He can do no good here, or any where else ; I believe your Excellency had better keep some of the young men, who have no wife or children to care for, and let the old fellow go home with me.” This finesse had the desired effect.

Peace at length took place between France and England—and Colonel Putnam, at the expiration of ten years from his first receiving a commission, after he had seen as much service, endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels, as any officer of his rank, with great satisfaction returned, to his plough. The various and uncommon scenes of war in which he had acted a respectable part, his intercourse with the world, and intimacy with some of the first characters in the army, joined with occasional reading, had not only drawn into his view whatever talents he possessed from nature, but, at the same time, had extended his knowledge, and polished his manners to a considerable degree. Not having become inflated with pride, or forgetful of his old connections, he had the good fortune to possess entirely the good-will of his fellow-citizens. No character stood higher in the public eye for integrity, bravery, and patriotism. He was employed in several offices in his own town, and not unfrequently elected to represent it in the General Assembly.

On the 22d day of March, 1765, the Stamp-Act received the *Royal Assent*. It was to take place in America on the 1st day of November following. This innovation spread a sudden universal alarm ; the political pulse in the provinces, from Main to Georgia, throbbed in sympathy. The Assemblies in most of these Colonies, that they might oppose it legally and in concert, appointed Delegates to confer together on the subject. The first Congress met early in October at New-York. They agreed upon a Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists, together with

separate Addresses to the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

In speaking of the troubles that ensued, I not only omit to say any thing on the obnoxious claim asserted in the British Declaratory Act, the continuation of the duty on tea, the attempt to obtrude that article on the Americans, the abortion of this project, the Boston-Port Bill, the alteration of the charter of Massachusetts, and other topics of universal notoriety;—but even wave all discussions of irritations on the one part, and supplications on the other, which preceded the war between Great Britain and her Colonies.—Without digressing to develope the cause, or describe the progress, it may suffice to observe, the dispute now verged precipitately to an awful crisis. Most considerate men foresaw it would terminate in blood. But, rather than suffer the chains (which they believed in preparation) to be rivetted, they nobly determined to sacrifice their lives. In vain did they deprecate the insatiation of those trans-Atlantic councils, which drove them to deeds of desperation. Convinced of the rectitude of their cause, and doubtful of the issue, they felt the most painful solicitude for the fate of their country, on contemplating the superior strength of the nation with which it was to contend. America, but thinly inhabited, and under thirteen distinct Colonial Governments, could have little hopes of success but from the protection of Providence, and the unconquerable spirit of Freedom which pervaded the mass of the people.

All eyes were now turned to find the men who possessed of military experience, would dare, in the approaching hour of severest trial, to lead their undisciplined fellow-citizens to battle. For none were so stupid as not to comprehend, that want of success would involve the leaders in the punishment of rebellion. Putnam was among the first and most conspicuous who stepped forth. Altho' the Americans had been, by many who wished their subjugation, indiscreetly stigmatised with the imputation of cowardice

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—he felt—he knew for himself he was no coward ; and, from what he had seen and known, he believed that his countrymen, driven to the extremity of defending their rights by arms, would find no difficulty in wiping away the ungenerous aspersion.

As he happened to be often at Boston, he held many conversations on the subject with General Gage, the British Commander in Chief, and Lord Percy, Colonel Sheriff, Colonel Small, and many officers with whom he had formerly served, who were now at Head-Quarters. Being often questioned, “ in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities, what part he would really take ? ” He always answered, “ with his Country, and that, whatever might happen, he was prepared to abide the consequence.” Being interrogated “ whether *he*, who had been a witness to the prowess and victories of the British fleets and armies, did not think them equal to the conquest of a country which was not the owner of a single ship, regiment, or magazine ? ” He rejoined, that, “ he could only say, Justice would be on our side, and the event with Providence ; but that he had calculated, if it required 6 years for the combined forces of England and her Colonies to conquer such a feeble country as Canada, it would, at least, take a very long time for England, alone, to overcome her own widely-extended Colonies, which were much stronger than Canada : That when men fought for every thing dear, in what they believed to be the most sacred of all causes, and in their own native land, they would have great advantages over their enemies, who were not in the same situation ; and that, having taken into view all circumstances, for his own part, he fully believed that America would not be so easily conquered by England as those gentlemen seemed to expect.” Being once, in particular, asked, “ whether he did not seriously believe, that a well-appointed British army of 5000 veterans could march thro’ the whole continent of America ? ” He replied briskly, “ No doubt, if they behaved civilly, and paid for every thing they wanted ; ”—but, after

a moment's pause, added—"if they should attempt it in a hostile manner (tho' the American men were out of the question), the women, with their ladles and broomsticks, would knock them all on the head before they had got half-way through."

At length the fatal day arrived, when hostilities commenced. General Gage, in the evening of the 18th of April, 1776, detached from Boston the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the army, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Smith, to destroy some military stores deposited by the Province at Concord. About sunrise the next morning, the detachment, on marching into Lexington, fired upon a company of Militia who had just reassembled; for, having been alarmed late at night with reports that the Regulars were advancing to demolish the stores, they collected on their parade, and were dismissed with orders to reassemble at beat of drum. It is established by affidavits of more than 30 persons who were present, that the first fire, which killed 8 of the Militia, then beginning to disperse, was given by the British, without provocation. The spark of war, thus kindled, ran with unexampled rapidity, and raged with unwonted violence. To repel the aggression, the people of the bordering towns spontaneously rushed to arms, and poured their scattering shot from every convenient station upon the Regulars, who, after marching to Concord and destroying the Magazine, would have found their retreat intercepted, had they not been reinforced by Lord Percy, with the battalion companies of 3 regiments and a body of marines. Notwithstanding the junction, they were hard pushed, and pursued until they could find protection from their ships. Of the British 283 were killed, wounded and taken. The Americans had 39 killed, 19 wounded, and 2 made prisoners.

Nothing could exceed the celerity with which the intelligence flew every where, that blood had been shed by the British troops. The country, in motion, exhibited but one scene of hurry, preparation, and revenge. Putnam, who was ploughing when he heard the
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the news, left his plough in the middle of the field, unyoked his team, and, without waiting to change his clothes, set off for the theatre of action. But, finding the British had retreated to Boston, and invested by a sufficient force, he came back to Connecticut, levied a regiment (under authority of the Legislature), and speedily returned to Cambridge. He was now promoted to be a Major-General of the Provincial Staff, and in a little time confirmed by Congress on the Continental establishment.

Not long after this period, the British Commander in Chief found the means to convey a proposal, privately, to General Putnam, that, if he would relinquish the *Rebel* party, he might rely on being made a Major-General on the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services. General Putnam spurned at the offer, which, however, he thought prudent at that time to conceal from public notice.

It could scarcely have been expected, but by those credulous patriots who were prone to believe whatever they ardently desired, that officers, assembled from Colonies distinct in their manners and prejudices—selected from laborious occupations to command a heterogeneous crowd of their equals, compelled to be soldiers only by the spur of the occasion, should long be able to preserve harmony among themselves, and subordination among their followers. As the fact would be a phenomenon, the idea was treated with mirth and mockery by the friends to the British Government.—Yet this unshapen embryo of a military Corps, composed of a militia, minute-men, volunteers and levies, with a burlesque appearance of a multiformity in arms, accoutrements, clothing and conduct, at last, grew into a regular Army!—an Army which, having vindicated the rights of human nature, and established the Independence of a new Empire, merited and obtained the glorious distinction of the PATRIOT ARMY—the patriot army, whose praises for fortitude in adversity, bravery in battle, moderation in conquest, perseverance
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in supporting the cruel extremities of hunger and nakedness without a murmur or sigh, as well as for their magnanimity in retiring to civil life, at the moment of victory, with arms in their hands, and without any just compensation for their services, will only cease to be celebrated, when time shall exist no more.

The Provincial Generals having received advice that the British Commander in Chief designed to take possession of the heights on the peninsula of Charles-Town, detached 1000 men in the night of the 16th of June, under the orders of General Warren, to entrench themselves upon one of these eminences named Bunker's-Hill. Tho' retarded by accidents from beginning the work until nearly midnight, yet, by dawn of day, they had constructed a redoubt about 8 rods square, and commenced a breast-work from the left to the low grounds, which an insufferable fire from the shipping, floating batteries, and cannon on Cop's-Hill, in Boston, prevented them from completing. At mid-day, 4 battalions of foot, 10 companies of light infantry, with a proportion of artillery, commanded by Major General Howe, landed under an heavy cannonade from the ships, and advanced in 3 lines to the attack. The Light Infantry, being formed on their right, was directed to turn the left flank of the Americans—and the Grenadiers, supported by 2 battalions, to storm the redoubt in front. Meanwhile, on application, these troops were augmented by the 47th regiment, the 1st battalion of Marines, together with some companies of Light Infantry and Grenadiers, which formed an aggregate force of between 3 and 4000 men. But so difficult was it to reinforce the Americans, by sending detachments across the Neck, which was raked by the cannon of the shipping, that not more than 1500 men were brought into action. Few instances can be produced in the annals of mankind, where soldiers, who had never before faced an enemy, or heard the whistling of a ball, behaved with such deliberate and persevering valour.

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It was not till after the Grenadiers had been twice repulsed to their boats, General Warren slain, his troops exhausted of their ammunition, their lines in a manner enfiladed by artillery, and the redoubt half-filled with British Regulars, that the word was given to retire. In that forlorn condition, the spectacle was as astonishing as new, to behold these undisciplined men, most of them without bayonets, disputing, with the butt-ends of their muskets, against the British bayonet, and receding in sullen despair. Still the Light Infantry, on their left, would certainly have gained their rear, and exterminated this gallant little corps, had not a body of 400 Connecticut men, with the Captains Knowlton and Chester, after forming a temporary breast-work by pulling up one post and rail fence and putting it upon another, performed prodigies of bravery. They held the enemy at bay until the main body had relinquished the heights, and then retreated across the Neck with more regularity and less loss than could have been expected. The British, who effected nothing but the destruction of Charles-Town, by a wanton conflagration, had more than one half of their number killed and wounded; the Americans only 355 killed, wounded, and missing. In this battle, the presence and example of General Putnam, who arrived with the reinforcement, were not less conspicuous than useful. He did every thing that an intrepid and experienced officer could accomplish. The enemy pursued to Winter-Hill—Putnam made a stand, and drove them back under cover of their ships.

After this action, the British strongly fortified themselves on the peninsulas of Boston and Charles-Town, while the Provincials remained posted in the circumjacent country, in such a manner as to form a blockade. In the beginning of July, General Washington, who had been constituted by Congress Commander in Chief of the American forces, arrived at Cambridge, to take the command. Having formed the army into 3 grand divisions, consisting of about 12 regiments each,

each, he appointed General Ward to command the right wing, and Major General Lee the left wing, and Major General Putnam the reserve. General Putnam's alertness, in accelerating the construction of the necessary defences, was particularly noticed and highly approved by the Commander in Chief.

About the 10th of July, the Declaration of Congress, setting forth their reasons for taking up arms, was proclaimed at the head of the several divisions. It concluded with these patriotic and noble sentiments:—
“ In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed until the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves; against violence actually offered, we take up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before. With an humble confidence in the mercies of the Supreme and Impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his Divine goodness to conduct us happily thro' this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation upon reasonable terms, and, thereby, to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.”
As soon as these memorable words were pronounced to General Putnam's division, which he had ordered to be paraded on Prospect-Hill, they shouted, in three huzzas, a loud Amen! whereat (a cannon from the Fort being fired as a signal), the new Standard, lately sent from Connecticut, was suddenly seen to rise and unroll itself to the wind.— On one side was inscribed, in large letters of gold, “ AN APPEAL TO HEAVEN,” and on the other were delineated the armorial bearings of Connecticut, which, without supporters or crest, consist, unostentatiously, of three vines, with this motto, “ *Qui transtulit sustinet* ;” alluding to the pious confidence our forefathers placed in the protection of Heaven, on those three allegorical scions—
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The enemy had vainly as incautiously imagined that to over-run was to conquer. They had even carried their presumption on our extreme weakness and submission, so far as to attempt covering the country they had marched thro' with an extensive chain of cantonments. That link which the post at Trenton supplied, consisted of a Hessian brigade of infantry, a company of chasseurs, a squadron of light dragoons, and 6 field-pieces. At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 26th of December, General Washington, with 2400 men, came upon them (after they had paraded), took 1000 prisoners, and repassed, the same day, without loss, to his encampment. As soon as the troops were recovered from their excessive fatigue, General Washington recrossed a second time to Trenton. On the 2d of January, Lord Cornwallis, with the bulk of the British army, advanced upon him, cannonaded his post, and offered him battle; but the two armies being separated by the interposition of Trenton Creek, General Washington had it in his option to decline an engagement, which he did for the sake of striking a masterly stroke that he meditated. Having kindled fires around his camp, posted faithful men to keep them burning, and advanced centinels whose fidelity might be relied upon, he decamped silently after dark, and, by a circuitous route, reached Princeton at 9 o'clock the next morning.—The noise of the firing, by which he killed and captured 5 or 600 of the British brigade in that town, was the first notice Lord Cornwallis had of his stolen march. General Washington, the project successfully accomplished, instantly filed off for the mountainous grounds of Morris-Town. Meanwhile, his Lordship, who arrived, by a forced march, at Princeton, just as he had left it, finding the Americans could not be overtaken, proceeded without halting to Brunswick.

On the 5th of January 1777, from Pluckemin, General Washington dispatched an account of this second success to General Putnam, and ordered him immediately to move with all his troops to Crosswix,
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for the purpose of co-operating in recovering the Jerseys; an event which the present fortunate juncture (while the enemy were yet panic-struck) appeared to promise. The General cautioned him, however, if the enemy should still continue at Brunswick, to guard with great circumspection against a surprise: especially, as they having recently suffered by two attacks, could scarcely avoid being edged with resentment to attempt retaliation. His Excellency farther advised him to give out his strength to be twice as great as it was; to forward on all the baggage and scattering men belonging to the division destined for Morris-Town; to employ as many spies as he should think proper; to keep a number of horsemen in the dress of the country, going constantly backwards and forwards on the same secret service; and lastly, if he should discover any intention or motion of the enemy that could be depended upon and might be of consequence, not to fail in conveying the intelligence as rapidly as possible by express to Head Quarters. Major General Putnam was directed soon after to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. He had never with him more than a few hundred troops, tho' he was only at 15 miles distance from the enemy's strong garrison at Brunswick. At one period from a sudden diminution, occasioned by the tardiness of the militia turning out to replace those whose time of service was expired, he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard—Nor was the Commander in Chief in a more eligible situation. It is true, that, while he had scarcely the semblance of an army, under the spacious parade of a park of artillery, and the imposing appearance of his Head Quarters establishing at Morris-Town, he kept up in the eyes of his countrymen, as well as in the opinion of the enemy, the appearance of no contemptible force. Future generations will find difficulty in conceiving how a handful of men and militia, who were necessitated to be inoculated for the small pox in the course of the winter, could be sub-divided and posted so advantageous-

geously, as effectually to protect the inhabitants, confine the enemy, curtail their forage, and beat up their quarters, without sustaining a single disaster.

In the battle of Princeton, Capt. M'Pherson, of the 17th British regiment, a very worthy Scotchman, was desperately wounded in the lungs and left with the dead. Upon General Putnam's arrival there, he found him languishing in extreme distress, without a surgeon, without a single accommodation, and without a friend to solace his sinking spirit in the gloomy hour of death. He visited and immediately caused every possible comfort to be administered to him.— Captain M'Pherson, who, contrary to all appearances recovered, after having demonstrated to General Putnam the dignified sense of obligations which a generous mind wishes not to conceal, one day demanded in familiar conversation—" Pray, Sir, what countryman are you ?"—" An American," answered the latter.—" Not a Yankee ?" said the other,—" A full-blooded one," replied the General.—" By G—d, I am sorry for that," replied M'Pherson, " I did not think there could be so much goodness and generosity in an American, or, indeed in any body but a Scotchman !"

While the recovery of Capt. M'Pherson was doubtful, he desired that General Putnam would permit a friend in the British army at Brunswick to come and assist him in making his will. General Putnam, who had then only fifty men in his whole command, was sadly embarrassed by the proposition. On the one hand, he was not content that a British officer should have an opportunity to spy out the weakness of his post ; on the other, it was scarcely in his nature to refuse complying with a dictate of humanity. He luckily bethought himself of an expedient, which he hastened to put into practice. A Flag of Truce was dispatched with Capt. M'Pherson's request, but under an injunction not to return with his friend till after dark. In the evening, lights were placed in all the College windows, and in every apartment of the vacant

cant houses throughout the town. During the whole night, the fifty men, sometimes all together, and sometimes in small detachments, were marched from different quarters, by the house in which M^cPherson lay. Afterwards it was known, that the officer who came on the visit, at his return, reported that General Putnam's army on the most moderate calculation could not consist of less than 4 or 5000 men.

When the spring had now so far advanced that it was obvious the enemy would soon take the field, the Commander in Chief, after desiring General Putnam to give the officer who was to relieve him at Princeton, all the information necessary for the conduct of that post, appointed that General to the command of a separate army in the Highlands of New-York.

It is scarcely decided, from any document yet published, whether the preposterous plans prosecuted by the British Generals, in the campaign of 1777, were altogether the result of their orders from home, or whether they partially originated from the contingencies of the moment. The system, which, at the time, tended to puzzle all human conjecture, when developed, served, also, to contradict all reasonable calculation. Certain it is, the American Commander in Chief was so perplexed with contradictory appearances, that he knew not how to distribute his troops with his usual discernment, so as to oppose the enemy with equal prospect of success in different parts. The gathering tempests menaced the Northern frontiers, the posts in the highlands, and the city of Philadelphia; but it was still doubtful where the fury of the storm would fall.—At one time, Sir William Howe was forcing his way by land to Philadelphia—at another, relinquishing the Jerseys—at a third, facing round to make a sudden inroad—then, embarking with all the forces that could be spared from New-York, and then putting out to sea—at the very moment when General Burgoyne had reduced Ticonderoga, and seemed to require a co-operation in another quarter.

It was not wonderful that many of the Tories were able, undiscovered, to penetrate far into the country, and even to go with letters, or messages, from one British army to another. The inhabitants, who were well affected to the Royal cause, afforded them every possible support, and their own knowledge of the different routes, gave them a farther facility in performing their peregrinations. Sometimes, the most active Loyalists, who had gone into the British posts and received promises of commissions upon enlisting a certain number of soldiers, came back again, secretly, with recruiting instructions. Sometimes, these and others, who came from the enemy within the verge of our camps, were detected and condemned to death, in conformity to the usages of war. But the British Generals, who had an unlimited supply of money at their command, were able to pay with so much liberality, that emissaries could always be found. Still, it is thought, that the intelligence of the American Commanders was, at least, equally accurate, notwithstanding the poverty of their military chest, and the inability of rewarding mercenary agents for secret services.

A person, of the name of Palmer, who was a Lieutenant in the Tory new levies, was detected in the camp at Peek's-Kill. Governor Tryon, who commanded the new levies, reclaimed him as a British officer, and represented the heinous crime of condemning a man commissioned by his Majesty, and threatening vengeance in case he should be executed. General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply :

" Sir, Nathan Palmer, a Lieutenant in your King's service, was taken in my camp as a spy ; he was tried as a spy—he was condemned as a spy—and he shall be hanged as a spy.

ISRAEL PUTNAM."

" P.S. Afternoon—He is hanged."

Sights of wretchedness always touched with commiseration the feelings of General Putnam, and prompted his generous soul to succour the afflicted. But the

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indulgence which he shewed (whenever it did not militate against his duty) towards the deserted and suffering families of the Tories in the state of New-York, was the cause of his becoming unpopular with no inconsiderable class of people in that State. On the other side, he had conceived an unconquerable aversion to many of the persons who were entrusted with the disposal of Tory property, because he believed them to have been guilty of peculations and other infamous practices.

His character was also respected by the enemy.—He had been acquainted with many of the Provincial officers in a former war. As flags frequently passed between the out-posts, during his continuance on the lines, it was a common practice to forward the newspapers by them, and as those printed by Rivington, the Royal printer in New-York, were infamous for the falsehoods with which they abounded, General Putnam once sent a packet to his old friend General Robertson, with this billet: “Major-General Putnam presents his compliments to Major-General Robertson, and sends him some American news-papers for his perusal—when General Robertson shall have done with them, it is requested that they may be given to Rivington, in order that he may print some truth.”

Late in the year, he left the lines, and repaired to the highlands; for, upon the loss of Fort Montgomery, the Commander in Chief determined to build another fortification for the defence of the river. His Excellency, accordingly, wrote to General Putnam, to fix upon the spot. After reconnoitring all the different places proposed, and revolving in his own mind their relative advantages, for offence on the water and defence on the land, he fixed upon West-Point. It is no vulgar praise to say, that to him belongs the glory of having chosen this rock of our military salvation. The position for water-batteries, which might sweep the channel where the river formed a right angle, made it the most proper of any for commanding the navigation; while the rocky ridges, that rose in awful
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sublimity behind each other, rendered it impregnable, and even incapable of being invested by less than 20,000 men. The British, who considered this post as a kind of American Gibraltar, never attempted it but by the treachery of an American officer. All the world knows that this project failed, and that West-Point continues to be the receptacle of every thing valuable in military preparations to the present day.

In the campaign of 1779, which terminated the career of General Putnam's services, he commanded the Maryland line post at Buttermilk falls, about two miles below West Point. He was happy in possessing the friendship of the officers of that Line, and in living on terms of hospitality with them. Indeed there was no family in the army lived better than his own. The General, his second son Major Daniel Putnam, and the writer of these Memoirs,* composed that family. This campaign, principally spent in strengthening the works of West Point, was only signalized for the storm of Stony Point by the light infantry under the conduct of General Wayne, and the surprize of the post of Powel's Hook by the corps under the command of Colonel Henry Lee.

When the army quitted the field and marched to Morris-Town into winter quarters, General Putnam's family went into Connecticut for a few weeks. In December, the General began his journey to Morris-Town. Upon the road between Pomfret and Hartford, he felt an unusual torpor slowly pervading his right hand and foot. This heaviness crept gradually on, and until it had deprived him of the use of his limbs on that side, in a considerable degree, before he reached the house of his friend Colonel Wadsworth. Still he was unwilling to consider his disorder of the paralytic kind, and endeavoured to shake it off by exertion. Having found that impossible, a temporary dejection, disguised however under a veil of assumed chearfulness, succeeded. But reason, and religion
soon

* Colonel Humphreys.

soon reconciled him to his fate. In that situation he has constantly remained, favoured with such a portion of bodily activity as enables him to walk and to ride moderately; and retaining unimpaired his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantry, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind. As a proof that the powers of memory are not weakened, it ought to be observed, that he has lately repeated from recollection, all the adventures of his life, which are here recorded, and which had formerly been communicated to the Compiler in detached conversations.

To illustrate his merits the more fully, this sketch will be concluded with a copy of the last letter written to him, by General Washington, in his military character.

Head-Quarters, 2d June, 1780.

“DEAR SIR,

“Your favour of the 20th of May I received with much pleasure—For, I can assure you, that, among the many worthy and meritorious officers, with whom I have had the happiness to be connected in service, thro’ the course of this war, and from whose chearful assistance in the various and trying vicissitudes of a complicated contest, *the name of Putnam is not forgotten*, nor will be, but with that stroke of time which shall obliterate from my mind the remembrance of all those toils and fatigues thro’ which we have struggled for *the preservation and establishment of the Rights, Liberties, and Independence of our Country.*

“Your congratulations on the happy prospect of Peace and Independant security, with their attendant blessings to the United States, I receive with great satisfaction; and beg that you will accept of a return of my congratulations to you on this auspicious event—an event in which, great as it is in itself, and glorious as it will probably be in its consequences, you have a right to participate largely, from the distinguished part you have contributed towards its attainment.

But,

“ But, while I contemplate the greatness of the object for which we have contended, and felicitate you on the happy issue of our toils and labours, which have terminated with such general satisfaction, I lament, that you should feel the ungrateful returns of a country, in whose service you have exhausted your bodily strength, and expended the vigour of a youthful constitution. I wish, however, that your expectations of returning liberality may be verified; I hope they may; but should they not, your case will not be a singular one. “ Ingratitude has been experienced in all ages; and Republics, in particular, have ever been famed for the exercise of that unnatural and sordid vice.”*

“ The Secretary at War, who is now here, informs me, that you have ever been considered as entitled to full pay since your absence from the field; and that you will still be considered in that light till the close of the war, at which period, you will be equally entitled to the same emoluments of half-pay, as any other officer of your rank. The same opinion is also given by the Pay-Master General, who is now with the army, empowered, by Mr. Morris, for the settlement of all their accounts, and who will attend to yours, whenever you shall think proper to send for that purpose—which it will, probably, be best for you to do in a short time.

“ I anticipate, with pleasure, the day (and that, I trust, not far off) when I shall quit the busy scenes of a military employment, and retire to the more tranquil walks of a domestic life. In that, or whatever other situation Providence may dispose of my future days, the remembrance of the many friendships and connections I have had the happiness to contract with the Gentlemen of the Army, will be one of my most grateful reflections. Under this contemplation, and impressed with the sentiments of Benevolence and

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* It is to be lamented, that this observation (which is not a new one) should have received the sanction of Gen Washington's name.—We hope the people of America are not, nor ever will be, ungrateful to the founders of their liberty.

Regard, I commend you, my dear Sir, my other friends, and, with them, the interests and happiness of our dear country, to the keeping and protection of Almighty God.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G, WASHINGTON."

To the Honourable

*Major-General Putnam.**

* Gen. Putnam died in May 1790.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE,

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY.†

DAVID RITTENHOUSE was born in Germantown on the 8th of April, 1732—his ancestors migrated from Holland about the beginning of the present century. They were distinguished, together with his parents, for probity, industry, and simple manners. It is from sources thus pure and retired, that those talents and virtues have been chiefly derived, which have in all ages enlightened the world.—They prove by their humble origin, that the Supreme Being has not surrendered up the direction of human affairs to the advantages acquired by accident or vice, and they bear a constant and faithful testimony of his impartial goodness, by their necessary and regular influence in equalizing the condition of mankind. This is the divine order of things, and every attempt to invert it, is a weak and unavailing effort to wrest the government of the world from the hands of God.

The early part of the life of Mr. Rittenhouse was spent in agricultural employments under the eye of his father, in the county of Montgomery, twenty miles from Philadelphia, to which place he removed during

† Delivered by Dr. Rush in an oration before the Society 17th Dec. 1796.

during the childhood of his son. It was at this place his peculiar genius first discovered itself. His plough, the fences, and even the stones of the field in which he worked, were frequently marked with figures which denoted a talent for mathematical studies.—Upon finding that the native delicacy of his constitution unfitted him for the labours of husbandry, his parents consented to his learning the trade of a clock and mathematical instrument maker. In acquiring the knowledge of these useful arts, he was his own instructor.—They afforded him great delight, inasmuch as they favoured his disposition to inquire into the principles of natural philosophy.—Constant employment of any kind, even in the practice of the mechanical arts, has been found in many instances, to administer vigour to human genius. Franklin studied the laws of nature, while he handled his printing types. The father of Rousseau, a jeweller at Geneva, became acquainted with the principles of national jurisprudence, by listening to his son while he read to him in his shop, the works of Grotius and Puffendorf;—and Herschel conceived the great idea of a new planet, while he exercised the humble office of a musician to a marching regiment.

It was during the residence of our ingenious philosopher with his father in the country, that he made himself master of Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, which he read in the English translation of Mr. Mott.—It was here likewise he became acquainted with Fluxions, of which sublime invention he believed himself for a while to be the author, nor did he know for some years afterwards, that a contest had been carried on between Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, for the honor of that great and useful discovery. What a mind was here!—Without literary friends or society, and with but two or three books, he became, before he had reached his four and twentieth year, the rival of the two greatest mathematicians in Europe!

It was in this retired situation, and while employed in working at his trade, that he planned and executed

cuted an orrery, in which he represented the revolutions of the heavenly bodies in a manner more extensive and complete than had been done by any former astronomers. A correct description of this orrery drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Smith, is published in the first volume of our Transactions. This master-piece of ingenious mechanism was purchased by the College of New-Jersey. A second was made by him, after the same model, for the use of the College of Philadelphia. It now forms part of the philosophical apparatus of the University of Pennsylvania, where it has for many years commanded the admiration of the ingenious and the learned, from every part of the world.

The reputation he derived from the construction of this orrery, as well as his general character for mathematical knowledge, attracted the notice of his fellow-citizens in Pennsylvania, and in several of the neighbouring states, but the discovery of his uncommon merit belonged chiefly to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Barton, Dr. Smith, and the late Mr. John Lukens, an ingenious mathematician of Philadelphia. These gentlemen fully appreciated his talents, and united in urging him to remove to this city, in order to enlarge his opportunities of improvement and usefulness. He yielded with reluctance to their advice, and exchanged his beloved retirement in the country for this city, in the year 1770. Here he continued for several years, to follow his occupation of a clock and mathematical instrument maker. He excelled in both branches of that business. His mathematical instruments have been esteemed by good judges to be superior in accuracy and workmanship to any of the same kind that have been imported from Europe.

About the time he settled in Philadelphia, he became a member of our Society. His first communication to the Society was a calculation of the transit of Venus as it was to happen on the third of June, 1769, in 40 north latitude, and 5 hours west longitude from Greenwich. He was one of a committee appointed

pointed by the Society, to observe in the township of Norriton, this rare occurrence in the revolution of that planet, and bore an active part in the preparations which were made for that purpose.

We are naturally led here to take a view of our philosopher with his associates in their preparations to observe a phenomenon, which had never been seen but twice before by any inhabitant of our earth, and which would never be seen again by any person then living, and on which depended very important astronomical consequences. The night before the long-expected day, was probably passed in a degree of solicitude which precluded sleep. How great must have been their joy when they beheld the morning sun, "and the whole horizon without a cloud;" for such is the description of the day given by Mr. Rittenhouse in the report referred to by Dr. Smith. In pensive silence and trembling anxiety, they waited for the predicted moment of observation; it came and brought with it all that had been wished for and expected by those who saw it. In our philosopher, it excited in the instant of one of the contacts of the planet with the sun, an emotion of delight so exquisite and powerful, as to induce fainting. This will readily be believed by those who have known the extent of that pleasure which attends the discovery or first perception of truth. Soon after this event, we find him acting as one of a committee appointed to observe the transit of Mercury on the 9th of November in the same year. This was likewise done at Norriton; an account of it was drawn up, and published at the request of the committee, by Dr. Smith. A minute history of the whole of these events, in which Mr. Rittenhouse acted a distinguished part, is given in our transactions. It was received with great satisfaction by the astronomers of Europe, and contributed much to raise the character of our then infant country for astronomical knowledge.

In the year 1775, he was appointed to compose and deliver the annual oration before our society. The
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subject of it, was the History of Astronomy. The language of this oration is simple, but the sentiments contained in it are ingenious, original, and in some instances sublime. Astronomy was the favourite object of Mr. Rittenhouse's studies—Attempts have been made to depreciate this branch of Natural Philosophy; but it is easy to shew the advantages of this Science——It is to Astronomy that we are indebted for our knowledge of navigation, by which means the different parts of our globe have been discovered, and afterwards cemented together by the mutual wants and obligations of commerce.

It was Astronomy that taught mankind the art of predicting and explaining the eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and thereby delivered them from the superstition, which, in the early ages of the world, was connected with those phenomena of nature.

We are taught by Astronomy to correct our ideas of the visible heavens, and thus by discovering the fallacy of the simple evidence of our senses, to call to their aid, the use of our reason, in deciding upon all material objects of human knowledge.

Astronomy has the most powerful influence upon morals and religion. “Yes (says our philosopher in another part of his oration) the direct tendency of this science is to dilate the heart with universal benevolence, and to enlarge its views. It flatters no princely vice, nor national depravity. It encourages not the libertine by relaxing any of the precepts of Morality, nor does it attempt to undermine the foundations of Religion; it denies none of those attributes, which the wisest and best of mankind have in all ages ascribed to the Deity. Nor does it degrade the human mind from that dignity which is ever necessary to make it contemplate itself with complacency.”

Talents so splendid, and knowledge so practical in mathematics, are like mines of precious metals. They become public property by universal consent. The State of Pennsylvania was not insensible of the wealth she possessed in the mind of Mr. Rittenhouse. She
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claimed him as her own, and employed him in business of the utmost importance.

In the year 1779, he was appointed, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, one of the Commissioners for adjusting a territorial dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia, and to his talents, moderation and firmness, were ascribed, in a great degree, the satisfactory termination of that once alarming controversy, in the year 1785.

In 1784, he assisted in determining the length of 5 degrees of longitude from a point on the Delaware, in order to fix the western limits of Pennsylvania.

In 1786, he was employed in fixing the northern line which divides Pennsylvania from New-York.

But the application of his talents and knowledge to the settlement of territorial disputes, was not confined to his native state. In the year 1769, he was employed in settling the limits between New-Jersey and New-York; and, in 1787, he was called upon to assist in fixing the boundary line between the States of Massachusetts and New-York. This last business, which was executed with his usual precision and integrity, was his farewell peace-offering to the union and happiness of his country.

In his excursions thro' the wilderness, he carried with him his habits of inquiry and observation. Nothing in our mountains, soils, rivers, and springs, escaped his notice. It is to be lamented, that his private letters, and the memories of his friends, are the only records of what he collected upon these occasions. —Philosopher! or Naturalist! whosoever thou art, that shalt hereafter traverse the unfrequented woods of our State, forget not to respect the paths, first marked by the feet of this ingenious and faithful servant of the public—honour the fountains consecrated to Science by his skilful hand—and inhale, with double pleasure, the pure atmosphere of the mountains, on which he renewed his acquaintance with the canopy of Heaven, after passing whole weeks in forests, so shady as to conceal from him the rays of the sun
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—and, citizens of *Pennsylvania*, friends and patrons of Literature, be grateful for his services—let the remembrance of them be dear to the present generation—and let a part of the State, distinguished in a more especial manner for its resources in natural knowledge, bear his name, with honour, to the latest posterity.

In the year 1791, he was chosen successor to Dr. Franklin in the chair of our Society. In this elevated station, the highest that Philosophy can confer in our country, his conduct was marked by its usual propriety and dignity. Never did the artificial pomp of station command half the respect which followed his unassuming manners in the discharge of the public duties of his office. You will often recollect, Gentlemen, with a mixture of pleasure and pain, the delightful evenings you passed in the Society, every time he presided in your meetings. They were uniformly characterised by ardour in the pursuits of science, urbanity, and brotherly kindness. His attachment to the interests of the Society was evinced, soon after he accepted the President's chair, by a donation of 300%.

But his talents and knowledge were not limited to mathematical or material subjects—his mind was a repository of the knowledge of all ages and countries. He had early and deeply studied most of the different systems of Theology. He was well acquainted with practical Metaphysics. In reading travels he took great delight. From them he drew a large fund of his knowledge of the natural history of our Globe. He possessed talents for music and poetry; but the more serious and necessary pursuits of his life prevented his devoting much time to the cultivation of them. He read the English poets with great pleasure. The muse of Thomson charmed him most: He admired his elegant combination of Philosophy and Poetry. However opposed these studies may appear, they alike derive their perfection from extensive and accurate observations of the works of Nature.—He was intimately acquainted with the French, German

man and Dutch languages, the two former of which he acquired without the assistance of a master. They served the valuable purpose of conveying to him the discoveries of foreign nations, and, thereby, enabled him to prosecute his studies with more advantage in his native language.

In speaking of Mr. Rittenhouse, it has been common to lament his want of what is called a liberal education. Were education what it should be in our public seminaries, this would have been a misfortune; but, conducted as it is at present, agreeably to the systems adopted in Europe in the 15th century, I am disposed to believe that his extensive knowledge and splendid character are to be ascribed chiefly to his having escaped the pernicious influence of monkish learning upon his mind in early life. Had the usual forms of a public education in the United States been imposed upon him, instead of revolving thro' life in a planetary orbit, he would, probably, have consumed the force of his genius by fluttering around the blaze of an evening taper. Rittenhouse—the Philosopher, and one of the luminaries of the 18th century — might have spent his hours of study in composing syllogisms, or in measuring the feet of Greek and Latin poetry.

It will be honourable to the citizens of the United States, to add, that they were not insensible of the merits of our Philosopher. Inventions and improvements in every art and science were frequently submitted to his examination, and were afterwards patronised by the public, according as they were approved of by him. Wherever he went, he met with public respect, and private attentions. But his reputation was not confined to his native country. His name was known and admired in every region of the earth, where science and genius are cultivated and respected.

Such were the talents, and knowledge, and such the fame of our departed President! His virtues now demand our tribute of praise—And here, I am less at a loss to know what to say, than what to leave un-

said. We have hitherto beheld him as a philosopher, soaring like the eagle, until our eyes have been dazzled by his near approaches to the sun. We shall now contemplate him at a nearer distance, and behold him in the familiar character of a MAN, fulfilling his various duties in their utmost extent. If any thing has been said of his talents and knowledge that has excited attention, or kindled desires, in the younger members of our Society, to pursue him in his path of honour, let me request them not to forsake me here. Come and learn, by his example, *to be good as well as great*. His virtues furnish the most shining models for your imitation, for they were never obscured in any situation or stage of his life, by a single cloud of weakness or vice. As the source of these virtues, whether of a public or private nature, I shall first mention his exalted sense of moral obligations, founded upon the revelation of the perfections of the Supreme Being. This appears from many passages in his oration, and from his private letters to his friends. In his oration we find the following pious sentiment: "Should it please that Almighty Power who hath placed us in a world in which we are only permitted 'to look about us and to die,' to indulge us with existence throughout that half of eternity which still remains unspent, and to conduct us thro' the several stages of his works, *here* (meaning in the study of Astronomy) is ample provision made for employing every faculty of the mind, even allowing its powers to be enlarged thro' an endless repetition of ages. Let us not complain of the vanity of this world, and that there is nothing in it capable of satisfying us.—Happy in those wants—happy in those desires, for ever, in succession, to be gratified—happy in a continual approach to the Deity.

"I must confess, that I am not one of those sanguine spirits, who seem to think, that, when the withered hand of Death has drawn up the curtain of eternity, all distance between the creature and the Creator, and between finite and Infinite, will be annihilated.

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Every enlargement of our faculties—every new happiness conferred upon us—every step we advance towards the DIVINITY, will very probably render us more and more sensible of his inexhaustible stores of communicable bliss, and of his inaccessible perfections.”

There appears to be a natural connection between a knowledge of the works of Nature and just ideas of the Divine perfections ; and, if philosophers have not, in all ages, been equally devout with our President, it becomes us to enquire, how far the beneficial influence of Philosophy upon Religion may have been prevented, by their minds being pre-occupied, in early life, with the fictions of ancient Poets, and the vices of the heathen Gods. It remains yet to be determined, whether all the moral as well as natural attributes of the Deity may not be discovered in the form and economy of the material world, and whether that Righteousness which descended from Heaven near 1800 years ago, may not wait for philosophical Truth to spring up from the earth, in order, by uniting with it, to command universal belief and obedience. This opinion, as far as it relates to one of the moral attributes of the Deity, seems to have been admitted by our Philosopher, in the following elegant and pious extract from a letter to one of his friends :—“ Give me leave (says he) to mention two or three proofs of Infinite Goodness in the works of creation. The first is, possessing goodness in ourselves. Now, it is inconsistent with all just reasoning to suppose, that, there is any thing good, lovely, or praise-worthy in us, which is not possessed, in an infinitely higher degree, by that Being who first called us into existence. In the next place, I reckon the exquisite and innocent delight that many things around us are calculated to afford us. In this light, the beauty and fragrance of a single rose is a better argument for Divine Goodness than a luxuriant field of wheat.—For, if we can suppose, that we were created by a malevolent Being with a design to torment us for his amusement, he must have furnished us with the means
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of subsistence, and either have made our condition tolerable, or not have left the means of quitting it at pleasure, in our own power. Such being my opinions, you will not wonder at my fondness for what Mr. Addison calls ‘the Pleasures of the Imagination.’—‘They are all, to me, so many demonstrations of Infinite Goodness.’

But the religion of Mr. Rittenhouse was not derived wholly from his knowledge and admiration of the material world. He believed in the CHRISTIAN Revelation. — Of this he gave many proofs, not only in the conformity of his life to the precepts of the Gospel, but in his letters and conversation. I well recollect, in speaking to me of the truth and excellency of the Christian religion, he mentioned, as an evidence of its Divine origin, that the miracles of our Saviour differed from all other miracles, in being entirely of a kind and benevolent nature. It is no small triumph to the friends of Revelation to observe, in this age of Infidelity, that our religion has been admitted, and even defended, by men of the most exalted understanding, and of the strongest reasoning powers. The single testimony of David Rittenhouse in its favour, outweighs the declamations of whole nations against it.

As the natural effect of his belief in the relation of the whole human race to each other, in a common Father and Redeemer, he embraced the whole family of mankind in the arms of his benevolence. But the philanthropy of Mr. Rittenhouse did not consist simply in wishes for the happiness of mankind. He reduced this divine principle to practice by a series of faithful and disinterested services to that part of his fellow-creatures, to which the usefulness of good men is chiefly confined. His country—his beloved country, was the object of the strongest affections of his heart. For her he thought—for her he laboured—and, for her, in the hours of her difficulties and dangers, he wept in every stage of the American Revolution. — Patriots of 1776, you will acquit me of exaggeration here,

here, for you feel, in the recollection of what passed in your own bosoms, a witness of the truth of each of these assertions. The year of the Declaration of Independence, which changed our Royal governments into Republics, produced no change in his political principles, for he had been educated a Republican by his father. I can never forget the pleasure with which he avowed his early, but secret, attachment to an elective and representative form of government. Often have I heard him, above 20 years ago, predict the immense encrease of talents and knowledge which has been produced by the strength and activity that have been infused into the American mind by our republican Constitutions. Often, likewise, at the same remote period of time, have I heard him anticipate, with delight, the effects of our Revolution, in sowing the seeds of a new order of things in other parts of the world. He believed political, as well as moral evil, to be intruders into the society of man—that general happiness was the original design and ultimate end of the Divine government—and that a time would come, when every part of our globe would echo back the heavenly proclamation of “universal peace on earth, and good will to man.”

Let it not be said, that he departed from the duties of a Philosopher, by devoting a part of his time and talents to the safety and happiness of his Country. It belongs to Monarchies, to limit the business of government to a “privileged order of men,” and it is from the remains of a monarchical spirit in our country, that we complain when clergymen, physicians, philosophers, and mechanics, take an active part in civil affairs. The obligations of Patriotism are as universal and binding, as those of justice and benevolence, and the virtuous propensities of the human heart are as much resisted by every individual who neglects the business of his country, as they are by the extinction of the domestic affections in a cell. Man was made for a Republic, and a Republic was made for Man, otherwise Divine power and goodness have been

been wasted, in the creation and gift of his public affections.—Our Philosopher adopted this truth from the evidence of his feelings, in common with the rest of mankind, but it was strongly reinforced in his mind by numerous analogies of nature. How was it possible for him to contemplate light and air as the common and equal portions of every man, and not acknowledge that the goodness of Heaven intended liberty to be distributed in the same manner among the whole human race?—Or how could he behold the beauty and harmony of the universe, as the result of universal and mutual dependance, and not admit that Heaven intended rulers to be dependant upon those, for whose benefit alone, all government should exist; to suppose the contrary, would be to deny unity and system in the plans of the great Creator of all things.

I shall make no apology for those sentiments. They are not foreign to the solemnity of this discourse. Had I said less of the political principles and conduct of our enlightened President, hundreds and thousands of my fellow-citizens would have accused me of an act of treachery to his memory. May the time never come, in which the praises of our republican governments shall not be acceptable to the ears of an American audience!

In the more limited circles of private life, Mr. Rittenhouse commanded esteem and affection. As a neighbour he was kind and charitable. His sympathy extended in a certain degree to distress of every kind, but it was excited with the most force, and the kindest effects to the weakness, pain, and poverty of old age.—As a friend he was sincere, ardent, and disinterested—As a companion, he instructed upon all subjects. To his happy communicative disposition, I beg leave to express my obligations in this public manner. I can truly say, after an acquaintance with him for six-and-twenty years, that I never went into his company, without learning something. With pleasure have I looked beyond my present labours to a time, when his society should constitute one of the
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principal enjoyments of the evening of my life.—But alas, that time so often anticipated, and so delightful in prospect—will never come.

I hope it will not be thought that I tread too closely upon his footsteps, when I presume to lift the latch of his door, and to exhibit him in the domestic relations of a husband and father. It was the practice of philosophers of former ages, to pass their lives in their closets, and to maintain a formal and distant intercourse with their families; but our Philosopher was a stranger to pride and imposture in every thing. His family constituted his chief society, and the most intimate circle of his friends. When the declining state of his health rendered the solitude of his study less agreeable than in former years, he passed whole evenings in reading or conversing with his wife and daughters. Happy family! so much and so long blessed with such a head! and happier, still, to have possessed dispositions and knowledge to discern and love his exalted character, and to enjoy his instructing conversation!—Thus Sir Thomas More lived with his accomplished wife and daughters;—thus Cicero educated his beloved Tullia;—and in this way only, can the female sex be elevated to that dignity and usefulness in society, for which they were formed, and by which, from their influence upon manners, a new era would be created in the history of mankind.

The house, and manner of living of our President, exhibited the taste of a Philosopher, the simplicity of a Republican, and the temper of a Christian.* He was independent, and contented with an estate, small in the estimation of Ambition and Avarice, but amply suited to all his wants and desires. He held the office of Treasurer of Pennsylvania, by an annual and unanimous vote of the Legislature, between the years 1777 and 1789. During this period, he declined purchasing the smallest portion of the public debt of the State, thereby manifesting a delicacy of integrity, which is known and felt only by pure and elevated minds.

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* On the subject of Religion, Dr. Price was his favourite. He read one of his sermons the evening before he died.

In the year 1792, he was persuaded to accept of the office of Director of the Mint of the United States. His want of health obliged him to resign it in 1795. Here his conduct was likewise above suspicion, for I have been informed by his colleague in office, that, in several instances, he paid for work done at the Mint out of his salary, where he thought the charges for it would be deemed extravagant by the United States.

His economy extended to a wise and profitable use of his time. No man ever found him unemployed. As an apology for detaining a friend a few minutes, while he arranged some papers he had been examining, he said, "that he once thought health the greatest blessing in the world; but that he now tho't there was one thing of much greater value, and that was time." The propriety of this remark will appear when we consider, that Providence, so liberal in other gifts, bestows this in a sparing manner. He never gives a second moment, until he has withdrawn the first, and still reserves the third in his own hand.

Here I expected to have finished the detail of his virtues; but, in the neighbourhood of that galaxy created by their connected lustre, I behold a virtue of inestimable value, twinkling like a rare and solitary star—It is, his superlative modesty.---This heaven-born virtue was so conspicuous in every part of his conduct, that he appeared not so much to conceal, as to be ignorant of his superiority as a Philosopher and a Man over the greatest part of his fellow-creatures.

His constitution was naturally feeble, but it was rendered still more so, by sedentary labour and midnight studies. He was afflicted many years with a weak breast, which upon unusual exertions of body or mind, or sudden changes in the weather, became the seat of a painful and harrassing disorder. This constitutional infirmity was not without its uses. It contributed much to the perfection of his virtue, by producing habitual patience and resignation to the will of Heaven, and a constant eye to the hour of his dissolution. It was a window through which he often look-

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ed with pleasure towards a place of existence, where from the encrease and perfection of his intuitive faculties, he would probably acquire more knowledge in an hour than he had acquired in his whole life, by the slow operations of reason; and where, from the greater magnitude and extent of the objects of his contemplation, his native globe would appear like his cradle, and all the events of time like the amusements of his infant years.

On the 26th of June, of the present year, the long expected messenger of death disclosed his commission. In his last illness, which was acute and short, he retained the usual patience and benevolence of his temper. Upon being told that some of his friends had called at his door to enquire how he was, he asked, why they were not invited into his chamber to see him?—"Because (said his wife) you are too weak to speak to them."—"Yes (said he) that is true, but I could still have squeezed their hands."—Thus with a heart overflowing with love to his family, friends, country, and to the whole world, he peacefully resigned his spirit into the hands of his God. Let the day of his death be recorded in the annals of our society, and let its annual return be marked with some public act, which shall characterise his services and our grief, and thereby animate us and our successors to imitate his illustrious example.

It has been the fashion of late years, to say of persons who had been distinguished in life, when they left the world in a state of indifference to every thing, and believing and hoping in nothing, that they died like philosophers. Very different was the latter end of our excellent President. He died like a Christian, interested in the welfare of all around him—believing in a life to come, and hoping for happiness from every attribute of the Deity.

Agreably to his request, his body was interred in his observatory near his dwelling house, in the presence of anumerous concourse of his fellow citizens. It was natural for him in the near prospect of appearing

in the presence of his Maker, to feel an attachment to that spot in which he had cultivated a knowledge of his perfections, and held communion with him thro' the medium of his works. Hereafter it shall become one of the objects of curiosity in our city. Thither shall the philosophers of future ages resort to do homage to his tomb, and the children yet unborn, shall point to the dome which covers it, and exultingly say, "there lies our Rittenhouse."

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES

IN the history of Man, we contemplate, with particular satisfaction, those legislators, heroes, and philosophers, whose wisdom, valour, and virtue have contributed to the happiness of the human species.—We trace the luminous progress of those excellent beings with secret complacency; our emulation is roused, while we behold them steadily pursue the path of rectitude, in defiance of every obstruction; we rejoice that we are of the same species, and thus, Self-love becomes the hand-maid of Virtue.

The authentic pages of Biography unite the most grateful amusement with instruction. Truth supports the dignity of the Historic Muse, who will not admit of either fulsome panegyric, or invidious censure.—She describes her hero with genuine simplicity—mentions his frailties, his characteristic peculiarities, and his shining qualities.—In short, she gives a faithful and lively portrait of the man, investigates the latent motives of his actions, and celebrates those virtues which have raised him to an enviable pre-eminence above his cotemporaries.

We sympathize in the sufferings, and participate the triumphs of those illustrious men who stand

"Majestic 'mid the monuments of Time;"

and the approbation of excellence in others, naturally leads the mind to imitate the object of its adoration.

Among

Among those patriots who have a claim to our veneration, George Washington appears in a conspicuous place in the first rank. The ancestors of this extraordinary man, in the year 1657, emigrated from England to America, and settled in the colony of Virginia; here, by unremitting industry, they became opulent and respectable, and gave their name to the parish of Washington, in Westmoreland county.—George Washington, the hero of the following history, was the fruit of a second marriage, and was born in the settlement of Chotank, in the above-mentioned county, on the 11th of February, 1732.

The extensive settlement of Chotank was originally purchased by the Washington family; the extreme fertility of the soil induced those settlers to cultivate tobacco in several plantations; for this purpose, they purchased a number of negro slaves, and, consequently, population was rapidly increased. At the time our hero was born, all the planters throughout this extensive settlement were his relations—hence, his youthful years glided away in all the pleasing gaiety of social friendship. He received a private education, and was initiated in the elements of Religion, Morality, and Science by a private tutor; and, from the tenor of his actions, it is manifest, that uncommon pains were taken to cherish the best propensities of human nature in his heart.

In the 10th year of his age, he had the misfortune to lose an excellent father, who died in 1742, and the patrimonial estate devolved to an elder brother. This young gentleman had been an officer in the Colonial troops sent in the expedition against Carthagera. On his return, he called the family mansion Mount Vernon, in honour of the British Admiral, and destined his brother George to serve in the navy.

Accordingly, in his 15th year, our hero was entered as a midshipman, on board a British frigate, stationed on the coast of Virginia. He prepared to embark, with all the alacrity of youth; but his nautical career was stopped by the interposition of maternal love.

love. Ever obedient to an affectionate mother, young Washington relinquished his desire of going to sea; the energies of his mind were to be exerted on a more stable element.

As his patrimonial estate was by no means considerable, his youth was employed in useful industry; and, in the practice of his profession as a surveyor, he had an opportunity of acquiring that information respecting vacant lands, and of forming those opinions concerning their future value, which, afterwards, greatly contributed to the increase of his private fortune.

The first proof that he gave of his propensity to arms was in the year 1751, when the office of Adjutant-General of the Virginia militia became vacant by the death of his brother, and Mount Vernon, together with a large estate, came into his possession. At this time, the extensive population of the colony made it expedient to form the militia corps into 3 divisions, and Washington, in his 20th year, was appointed Major. He attended to his duty, as an officer, with exemplary propriety and vigilance—was indefatigable in the discipline of the troops—and generally beloved, both by his brother officers and the private men, for his mildness and generosity.

In the year 1753, the incroachments of the French upon the western boundaries of the British Colonies excited a general alarm in Virginia, insomuch that Governor Dinwiddie deputed Washington to ascertain the truth of those rumours: he was also empowered to enter into a treaty with the Indians, and remonstrate with the French on the injustice of their proceedings. On his arrival at the back settlements, he found the Colonists in a very unpleasant situation, from the depredations of the Indians, who were incessantly instigated by the French to the commission of new aggressions. He found that the French themselves had also committed several outrages against the defenceless settlers; nay, that they had proceeded so far as to establish posts within the boundaries of Virginia. Washington strongly remonstrated against those acts
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of hostility, and warned the French to desist from their incursions. On his return, his report to the Governor was published, and it evinced that he performed this honourable mission with great prudence.

The repeated inroads of the French and Indians on the frontiers of Virginia, made it necessary to encrease the military establishment; and early in the spring of 1754, a new regiment was raised, of which Professor Fry, of the college, was appointed colonel, and Washington lieutenant-colonel. Mr. Fry died soon after the regiment was embodied, and was succeeded by our hero, who paid unremitting attention to the discipline of this new corps. He established magazines of provision and ammunition, and opened the roads to the frontiers in order pre-occupy an important post at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers. His regiment was to have been reinforced by a detachment from the southern colonies, and a corps of provincials from North Carolina and Maryland; but impelled by the urgency of the occasion, he advanced without the expected succours in the month of May. The troops proceeded by forced marches towards the defile, and their commander dispatched two scouts to reconnoitre; but though his rapid march was facilitated by the fine weather, yet, when he ascended the Laurel Hills, fifty miles distant from the place of destination, he was met by his scouts, who returned with intelligence, that the enemy were in possession of the post, had built a fort, and stationed a large garrison there. Washington now held a council of war with the other officers, but while they were deliberating a detachment of the French came in sight, and obliged them to retreat to a savannah called the Green Meadows.

The fortitude of Washington was put to a severe test on this occasion: he retired with the troops to an eminence in the savannah, and about noon began to erect a small fortification. He called his temporary defence Fort Necessity, and encouraged the regiment both by his voice and example, to raise a redoubt on
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which they planted two field pieces. They surrounded the camp with an entrenchment in which they toiled with unremitting exertions during the subsequent night. Thus fortified, they prepared to resist the meditated attack of the enemy; and about sunrise, on the following morning, were joined by Capt. M'Kay, with a company of regulars. The little army now amounted to about 400 men. On the approach of the advanced guard of the French, the Americans sallied forth, attacked and defeated them; but the main body of the enemy, amounting to 1500 men, compelled them to retire to the intrenchment. The camp was now closely invested, and the Americans suffered severely from the grape shot of the enemy, and the Indian riflemen. Washington however, defended the works with such skill and bravery, that the besiegers were unable to force the intrenchments. At length after a conflict of ten hours, in which 150 of the Americans were killed and wounded, they were obliged to capitulate. They were permitted to march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms in front of the French lines; but they were afterwards plundered by the hostile Indians, during their return to Virginia.

This defeat excited a strong emotion of sorrow in the breasts of their countrymen; and tho' several persons censured the precipitance of Washington in this affair, yet the general conviction of his integrity prevented those murmurs from doing him any injury. Indeed, his conduct was liable to censure; he ought to have waited for the necessary reinforcements, a junction with whom would probably have crowned his enterprize with success. His inexperience and the active ardor of a youthful mind, may afford some palliation of his imprudence; but his rashness in this instance was so different from his subsequent prudence, that probably this inauspicious commencement of his military career, was the origin of the the circumspection and vigilance which afterwards marked his conduct in a successful defensive war.

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Let us for a moment enquire into the cause of these unprovoked hostilities of the French against the British colonies. As France, for many centuries had been the professed rival of England, she beheld the rapid prosperity of these colonies, and the consequent aggrandizement of the mother country, with envious apprehension. The French government had made settlements in North America, and divided this vast continent into two provinces ; the northern was called Canada, and the southern Louisiana. But as the principal part of this territory was comparatively barren and uncultivated, the French formed the ambitious project of obtaining possession of the British settlements by force. For this purpose they erected a chain of forts which extended throughout an immense tract of country. These fortifications were garrisoned by troops well supplied by military stores ; but the circumjacent regions were totally uninhabited, except by hunting parties of the wandering Indians.

The French engaged these savages in their interest, by supplying them with arms and ammunition in exchange for rich furs. Thus they obtained the alliance of a formidable and enterprising race, who naturally hated the British colonists, whom they considered as the original invaders of their country.

In the summer of 1754, the French having built several forts within the boundaries of the British settlements, an army of veterans was sent from France to support those unjustifiable encroachments. We have already mentioned their victory over the troops commanded by Washington, and that they had erected a fort at an advantageous post, which it had been his determination to secure. They named this fortress Du Quesne, in which they stationed a strong garrison well provided with military stores. These hostile measures on the part of France, excited the indignation of the English Government, and orders were issued to make general reprisals in Europe and America.

In the year 1755, General Braddock was sent to America, at the head of two veteran regiments from Ire-

Ireland, to reduce the forts on the Ohio. On his arrival, he was joined by the independent and provincial corps of America: but when the army was ready to march against the enemy, the want of waggons for the conveyance of stores, had almost proved an insurmountable obstacle to the expedition. In this emergency a patriotic American stepped forward and removed the difficulty; this was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, whose extraordinary talents had already contributed to the diffusion of knowledge and happiness. This benign philosopher exerted his influence so effectually with his countrymen, that, in a short time, he collected 150 waggons, which proved an ample supply for the army.

As in consequence of a military regulation, "no officer who did not derive his commission from the King could command one who did," Washington resigned; but strongly attached to a military life, and emulous to defend his country with distinguished zeal, he voluntarily served under Gen. Braddock as an extra aid-de-camp. That General marched against Fort Du Quesne; but soon after he crossed the river Monongahela, the van division of his army was attacked by an ambuscade of French and Indians, and totally defeated. The thickness of the woods prevented both the European and provincial troops from being able to defend themselves with effect; they could neither keep their ranks, nor charge the enemy with the bayonet, while the Indians, who were expert at bush-fighting, and were widely scattered, fired at them in all directions from behind the trees, where they were concealed from their foes, and took a fatal aim. Washington had cautioned Gen. Braddock in vain; his ardent desire of conquest made him deaf to the voice of prudence; he saw his error when too late, and bravely perished in his endeavours to save the division from destruction. The gallant but unfortunate general had four horses shot under him before he was slain, and almost every officer whose duty obliged him to be on horseback, was either killed or wounded except Wash-

ington. Amid the carnage, the presence of mind, and abilities of our hero, were conspicuous; he rallied the troops, and, at the head of a corps of grenadiers, covered the retreat of the division, and secured their retreat over the ford of Monongahela.

Anxious for the preservation of the troops, and unmindful of the fatigues he had undergone, during a sultry day in which he had scarcely a moment of rest, he hastened to concert measures with Colonel Dunbar, who commanded the rear division, which had not been engaged. Neither the wilderness thro' which he was obliged to pass, the innumerable dangers that surrounded him in his progress, nor his exhausted state could prevent him from pursuing the line of his duty. He travelled during the night accompanied by two guides, and reached the British camp in safety. Thus his perseverance and wisdom saved the residue of the troops. Colonel Dunbar now assumed the chief command; he with considerable difficulty effected a retreat, but was obliged to destroy his baggage to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. Washington received the most flattering marks of public approbation; but his best reward was the consciousness of his own integrity.

Soon after this transaction, the regulation of rank, which had justly been considered as a grievance by the colonial officers, was changed in consequence of a spirited remonstrance of Washington; and the Governor of Virginia rewarded this brave officer with the command of all the troops of that colony. The natural energy of his mind was now called into action; and his thoughts were continually employed in forming new plans for the protection of the frontiers.

We may form some idea of his increaseing popularity, and the high estimation in which he was held by his countrymen, from the following curious prediction. It was published in the notes of a sermon preached by the Samuel Davies, on the 17th of August, 1755, to Capt. Overton's independent company of Volunteers, raised in Hanover county, Virginia.

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“As a remarkable instance of patriotism, I may point out that heroic youth Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country.” What renders this prophecy the more worthy of notice, is its having been delivered twenty years prior to the commencement of the war which terminated in American independence.

In the year 1758, Washington commanded the van brigade of the army under Gen. Forbes, and distinguished himself by the capture of Fort du Quesne. During this successful campaign, he acquired a knowledge of tactics. His frequent skirmishes with the French and Indians, in the woody regions along the frontiers taught him vigilance and circumspection, and roused that spirit of enterprise, which is ever ready to seize the crisis that leads to victory. The troops under his command were gradually inured in that most difficult kind of warfare called bush-fighting, while the activity of the French and ferocity of the Indians were overcome by his superior valour. After the enemy had been defeated in several battles, and compelled to retreat far beyond the Colonial boundaries, General Forbes left a sufficient garrison in the different forts which he had captured along the banks of the Ohio, and returned with the army into winter quarters.

In the course of this decisive campaign, which restored the tranquillity and security of the middle colonies, Washington had suffered many hardships which impaired his health. He was afflicted with an inveterate pulmonary complaint, and extremely debilitated, insomuch that in the year of 1759, he resigned his commission and retired to Mount Vernon. The Virginia line expressed their high sense of his merit, by an affectionate address on this occasion; and his answer was marked with that modesty and magnanimity which were the prominent traits of his mind.

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By a due attention to regimen, in the quiet bowers of Mount Vernon, he gradually recovered from his indisposition. But, as during the tedious period of his convalescence, the British arms had been victorious, his country had no more occasion for the exertion of his military talents. In the year 1761, he married a young widow, whose maiden name was Dandridge. She was descended from a reputable family, and two of her brothers were officers in the British navy. This lady was the widow of Colonel Custis, who had left her sole executrix to his extensive possessions, and guardian to his two children. The union of Washington with this accomplished woman * was productive of their mutual felicity ; and as he incessantly pursued agricultural improvements, his taste embellished and enriched the fertile fields around Mount Vernon. Meanwhile he was appointed a magistrate, a member of the assembly of the state, and a judge of the court. These honourable avocations kept the powers of his mind in a state of activity ; he attended to his civil duties with exemplary propriety, and gave a convincing proof, that the simplicity of the Farmer is homogeneal with the dignified views of the Senator.

But the time approached, in which Washington was to relinquish those honourable civil avocations, and one of the most remarkable events recorded in history obliged him to act a conspicuous part on the great theatre of the world. The American Revolution originated in the errors of a few British politicians, and the joint exertions of a number of public spirited men among the Colonists, who incited their countrymen to resist parliamentary taxation.

In March 1764, a bill passed in the British Parliament, laying heavy duties on all articles imported into the Colonies from the French and other islands in the West Indies, and ordering these duties to be paid in specie into the Exchequer of Great Britain. In
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* Mrs. Washington was born in the year 1732

the same session, another bill was formed, to restrain the currency of paper-money in the Colonies.

These acts excited the surprize and displeasure of the North Americans. They sent warm and energetic remonstrances to the Mother-country, and laid every argument before the Ministry that ingenuity could suggest, but in vain. As they had hitherto furnished their contingent in men and money, by the authority of their Representatives in the Colonial Assemblies, they asserted, that, not being represented in the British Parliament, it could have no right to tax them.— Finding, however, that all their arguments were ineffectual to remove their grievances, they formed associations to prevent the use of British manufactures, till they should obtain redress,

The animosity of the Colonists was farther increased, by the advice which they received, that the British Ministry had it in contemplation to establish stamp-duties in America, similar to those in Great Britain.

The General Assembly of Virginia was the first that openly and formally declared against the right of Britain to lay taxes on America. Of this Assembly Washington was a member; he most zealously opposed what he considered an encroachment on the liberties of his countrymen; and the example of this legislative body was followed by those of the other colonies.

In June, 1765, the Assembly of Massachusetts, from the conviction of the expediency of a Continental Congress, passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and sent circular letters to the several Assemblies, requesting their concurrence. Accordingly, a deputation from 10 of the Colonies met at New-York, and this was the first Congress held in North America.

In consequence of a petition from this Congress to the King and both Houses of Parliament, the stamp-act was repealed, to the universal joy of the Colonists, and the general satisfaction of the English, whose manufactures had suffered a considerable depression,

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in consequence of the American associations against their importation.

But, the Parliament, by repealing this obnoxious act, did not relinquish the idea of their right to tax the Colonies; and the bill for laying a duty on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, was passed, and sent to America, in 1768. This act occasioned new discontents in the Colonies, especially at Boston; and tho' Parliament thought proper, in 1770, to take off those duties, except 3*d.* a pound on tea, yet even this trifling impost kept alive the jealousy of the Colonists, who denied the supremacy of the British Legislature. The troops quartered in Boston was another cause of offence to the inhabitants, and, on all occasions, they manifested an inclination to quarrel with men whom they considered inimical to their liberties.

The animosity of the people of that Colony against their Governor, Hutchinson, was increased by the discovery that he had written letters to people in power in England, which contained a misrepresentation of the state of public affairs, and recommended coercive measures, in order to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, Agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The Assembly passed a petition to his Majesty, by a large majority, in which they declared their Governor and Lieutenant-Governor enemies to the Colonies, and prayed for their dismissal from office. This petition was not only rejected, but declared to be groundless and scandalous.

About this time, Dr. Franklin was dismissed from the office of Deputy Postmaster-General of America, which he held under the Crown. But it was not merely by his transmission of the letters above-mentioned that he had offended the British Ministry; he had written two pièces in favour of America, which excited the public attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The one was entitled, "An Edict from the King of Prussia for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions

nions ;" and the other, " Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one." These essays were both written with his peculiar simplicity of style, and abounded with the most poignant satire.

The disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies had now existed above ten years, with intervals of tranquillity. The reservation of the duty on tea, the stationing a standing army in Massachusetts, the continuance of a Board of Commissioners in Boston, and the appointing the Governors and Judges of the province, independent of the people, were the causes of that irritation which pervaded all ranks of the community.

In the year 1773, the American controversy was recommenced, in consequence of tea being sent to the Colonies by the East India Company. The Americans now perceived that the tax was likely to be enforced, and were determined to oppose the revenue system of the British Parliament. They considered this attempt of the East India Company as an indirect mode of taxation, and took measures to prevent the landing of the teas. One universal spirit of opposition animated the Colonists from New Hampshire to Georgia. The province of Massachusetts distinguished itself by the most violent and decisive proceedings. Three ships from England laden with tea, lay in the harbour of Boston; and the townsmen resolved to destroy it rather than suffer it to be landed. For this purpose a number of men disguised like Indians, on the 18th of Dec. 1773, entered the ships and threw overboard 342 chests of tea, being the whole of their cargoes.

The Ministry now resolved to enforce their authority, and as Boston had been the principal scene of outrage, it was determined to punish that town in an exemplary manner. On the 25th of March 1774, an act was passed called the Boston Port Bill, "to discontinue the landing, and discharging, lading, and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandizes at the town of Boston, or within the harbour."

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The news of this bill was received by the Bostonians with the most extravagant tokens of resentment, and during the ferment their new governor, General Gage, arrived from England. This gentleman had been appointed on account of his being an officer of reputation, and a man esteemed by the Americans, among whom he had resided many years. The first official act of his government was the removal of the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant.

Virginia again took the lead in a public avowal of its sentiments. The first day of June had been appointed for the Boston Port Act to take place, and on that day the General Assembly of Virginia enjoined a public supplication to Heaven. The stile of this injunction was remarkable: the people were directed "to beseech the Deity to give them one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American Rights." The Assembly of Virginia recommended also to the colonies, to appoint a Congress of Delegates to deliberate on the critical state of their affairs.

Meanwhile the Bostonians were not inactive. They framed an agreement, which they called a solemn League and Covenant, by which the subscribers engaged in the most religious manner, "to discontinue all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, after the expiration of the month of August, till the late obnoxious acts were repealed, and the colony re-possessed of its charter." Resolutions of a similar nature were entered into by the other provinces; and when General Gage attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, the Americans retorted, by insisting, that the law allowed subjects to associate in order to obtain redress of their grievances.

In the month of Sept. 1774, the General Congress of all the Colonies met at Philadelphia. That body consisted of fifty-one delegates, chosen by the representatives of each province.

The first act of the Continental Congress, was their approbation of the conduct of the Bostonians, and an

exhortation to them to persevere in their opposition to government, till the restoration of their charter.— They avowed their allegiance to his Majesty, and drew up a petition, in which they intreated him to grant them peace, liberty, and safety. After several resolutions tending to promote unanimity in the provinces, and after having resolved that another Congress should meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May following if their grievances should not be redressed, they recommended to the people the speedy nomination of new delegates, and then separated.

Meanwhile reinforcements of British troops arrived at Boston, which increased the general disaffection to such a degree, that the people were ready to rise at a moment's warning. The Colonists now began seriously to prepare for war; embodied and trained their militia; and to render themselves independent of foreigners for the supply of military stores, they erected mills and manufactories for gunpowder both in Philadelphia and Virginia.

These hostile preparations induced General Gage to fortify the neck of land which joins the town of Boston to the continent. But tho' this measure of security was justifiable on the principle of self defence, the Americans remonstrated against it with the greatest vehemence. Instead of paying any attention to these invectives, the General seized the provincial ammunition and military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown. This act of hostility excited the popular rage to such a degree, that it was with the utmost difficulty the inhabitants of Massachusetts could be restrained from marching to Boston to attack the troops.

It was now but too evident, that the ensuing spring would be the commencement of a war of which even the most resolute dreaded the consequences. The utmost diligence, however, was used by the colonists to be provided against any attack of the British army. A list of the men able to bear arms was made out in each province, and the assemblies were animated with the most lively hopes on finding that two-thirds

thirds of the men who had served in the former war, were alive, and zealous in the cause.

Washington was among the most active in raising troops. His well known intrepidity and generosity obtained him a numerous corps of volunteers; he was appointed their commander, and soon perfected their discipline. He had also been elected a delegate from Virginia to the General Congress, and exerted all his influence to encourage a decisive opposition to British taxation.

The awful moment now approached which was to involve Great Britain and her Colonies in all the horrors of a civil war. In February, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts met at Cambridge. Several military institutions for the protection of the province were enacted; among the most remarkable of which was the *minutemen*. A number of the most active and expert of the New England militia were selected, who were obliged to hold themselves in readiness to obey the first summons of their officers; and indeed their subsequent vigilance and intrepidity, fully entitled them to the above-mentioned appellation.

We pass over the battles of Lexington and Bunker's-hill (already related in General Putnam's life) and come to the subject of our present memoirs. Washington who was a delegate from Virginia, was by their unanimous vote, appointed to be General in Chief of all the American forces. They also voted him as ample a salary as was in their power to bestow, but he generously declined all pecuniary emoluments.—His reply to the President of Congress, on his nomination to the supreme command of the army, was in the following words:

“MR. PRESIDENT,

“Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust; however as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power.

er I possess in their service and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

“As to my pay, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic peace and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expences—those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and this is all I desire.”

This speech is a proof of that disinterestedness and modesty which were the distinguishing characteristics of Washington's mind. In private life, he was hospitable and friendly. These social virtues, together with his tried valour, made him truly estimable in the eyes of his countrymen. His election to the supreme command was attended by no competition—every member of Congress, especially those of New-England, were convinced of his integrity, and chose him as the man best qualified to raise their expectations and fix their confidence.

The appointment of Washington was attended with other promotions, namely, 4 Major-Generals, 1 Adjutant-General, and 8 Brigadier-Generals.

On the day following, a special commission was presented to Washington by Congress. At the same time, they resolved unanimously, in a full meeting, “That they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty.” In their instructions, they authorised him “to order and dispose of the army under his command as might be most advantageous for obtaining the end for which it had been raised, making it his special care, in discharge of the great trust com-

committed to him, that the liberties of America received no detriment."

Washington's diffidence on the acceptance of his commission was extremely natural. His comprehensive mind anticipated the numerous difficulties which must attend his employment, and he would gladly have preferred the pleasures of a rural life to all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war."

His taking the command of the American army was, therefore, a strong exertion of self-denial to an unambitious man, who enjoyed all the real blessings of life in the bosom of independence. Let us, for a moment, turn our attention to his private affairs, and we will behold him blest with the rational pleasures of a philosophic retirement, with his table overspread with plenty, and his pillow smoothed by the hand of conjugal love. Could man desire more?—Was not this the summit of human happiness? But now, when the voice of his country demands his aid, he takes the field, in her defence, with filial attachment.

In the beginning of July, Washington set out for the camp at Cambridge, in order to assume the command of the army. On his way thither, he was treated with every demonstration of respect, escorted by detachments of gentlemen who had formed volunteer associations, and honoured with public addresses of congratulation from the Provincial Congress of New-York and Massachusetts.

In answer to these addresses, Washington, after declaring his high sense of the regard shewn him, added, "Be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself will be extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the Mother-country and these Colonies. As to the fatal, but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the Soldier, we did not lay aside the Citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the re-establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

On his arrival at the camp, he was received with the joyful acclamations of the American army. He found the British troops intrenched on Bunker's-Hill, and defended by 3 floating batteries in Mystic river, while the Americans were intrenched on Winter-hill, Prospect-Hill, and Roxbury, with a communication, by small posts, over an extent of 10 miles. As the Provincial soldiers had repaired to the camp in their ordinary clothing, the hunting shirt was adopted for the sake of uniformity. Washington found a large body of men, indifferently disciplined, and but badly provided with arms and ammunition. Besides, they had neither engineers, nor sufficient tools for the erection of fortifications. He also found uncommon difficulties in the organization of his army. Enterprizing leaders had distinguished themselves at the commencement of hostilities, and their followers, from attachment, were not willing to be commanded by officers who, tho' appointed by Congress, were strangers to them. To subject the licentiousness of freemen to the controul of military discipline, was both an arduous and delicate task. However, the genius of Washington triumphed over all difficulties. In his letter to Congress, after he had reviewed the troops, he says, "I find here excellent materials for an army—able-bodied men, of undoubted courage, and zealous in the cause." In the same letter, he complains of the want of ammunition, camp-equipage, and many other requisites of an army.

Washington, at the head of his troops, published a declaration, previously drawn up by Congress, expressive of their motives for taking up arms. It was written in energetic language, and contained the following remarkable passages:

"Were it possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistable,

able, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these Colonies might, at least, require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But, a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

“ The Legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the Constitution of that kingdom, and despairing of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from Reason to Arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.”

This bold and explicit manifesto was dated at Philadelphia, the 6th of July, 1775, and subscribed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Charles Thompson, Secretary.

A general spirit of unanimity pervaded the colonies at this momentous period. Men of all ranks and ages were animated with martial ardour, and even religious prejudices were overcome by patriotic enthusiasm. Several young men of the Quaker persuasion joined the military associations; and the number of men in arms throughout the colonies was very considerable.

Notwithstanding these warlike preparations, the Americans unanimously protested that they took up
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arms only to obtain a redress of grievances ; and that a separation from the parent state was an object foreign to their wishes. The rancour, however, that accompanies a civil war, was productive of mutual reproaches, and the slightest proof of enmity was keenly felt as proceeding from those who were once friends.

An instance of this nature happened at Boston, while invested by the provincial army, and produced the memorable correspondence between the respective commanders. The last letter, written by General Washington to General Gage, exhibited a lively portrait of his character and principles as well as those of his countrymen.—It contained the following striking passages :

“ Whether British or American mercy, fortitude and patience, are most pre-eminent ; whether our victorious citizens, whom the hand of tyranny has forced into arms to defend their property and freedom, or the mercenary instrument of lawless domination, avarice, and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, which your affected clemency has forborn to inflict ; whether the authority under which I act, is usurped, or founded upon the principles of liberty ; such considerations are altogether foreign to the subject of our correspondence—I purposely avoid all political disquisition ; nor shall I avail myself of those advantages, which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty, and human nature, give me over you ; much less shall I stoop to retort any invective.

“ You affect, Sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable than that which flows from *the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free People*, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from thinking it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity, and enlarged ideas, would comprehend and respect it.”

This celebrated letter was by the Americans represented

sented as the most perfect model of the style becoming the Commander in Chief, and the occasion to which it was adapted; nay, it was commended in different parts of Europe, and even in England, as the most proper answer he could make.

In September, General Gage sailed for England; and the command of the British army devolved on General Howe.

Meanwhile, the army under Washington continued the blockade of Boston so closely, as to prevent all intercourse between that town and the country. The provincial force was formed into three grand divisions, of which General Ward commanded the right wing, General Lee the left, and the center was commanded by Washington. The army was arranged by General Gates, by whose exertions military discipline was gradually and successfully introduced; the officers and privates were taught the necessity of a due subordination, and became expert in the different manœuvres that constitute the regularity of an army.

One insuperable obstacle to the provincial army's arriving at perfect discipline was, the shortness of the time for which the men had been enlisted. It had been limited to six months, and no part of the troops were engaged longer than the 1st of Jan. 1776. To prevent the English General from taking advantage of this circumstance, Washington was obliged occasionally to call in the militia when the disbanded men left the camp, in order that the works should be properly defended.

Ticonderoga had been taken by Colonel Arnold on the 10th of May. This important fortress is situated on a promontory, formed at the junction of Lake George and Lake Champlain, and consequently it is the key of communication between New York and Canada. Arnold, flushed with success, wrote a letter to Congress, in which he offered to reduce the whole province of Canada with 2000 men. From the impetuosity of his disposition, he advised the adoption of an offensive war, but as Congress did not wish to
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widen the breach between Great Britain and the Colonies, and an accommodation was their wish, they deferred the invasion of Canada.

Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of that province, planned a scheme for the recovery of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, another fort taken by the Americans. He had been invested with full powers to embody the Canadians, and march them against the enemy; however, they were very unwilling to engage in the contest, but he hoped on the arrival of reinforcements, to compel them to act. Meantime he had collected a numerous body of Indians; his troops though few, were well disciplined, and the United Colonies had reason to dread a man of his intrepidity and abilities.

When Congress were informed of these exertions in Canada, they thought it expedient to make a vigorous attack upon that province, in order to prevent the invasion of their north-western frontier. In consequence of this determination, an army of 3000 men under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, were sent to effect the conquest of Canada. They proceeded to Lake Champlain, and thence by water to St. John's, the first British post in Canada. The Americans landed and besieged the fortress, which was bravely defended by the garrison under Major Preston. Illness obliged General Schuyler to retire to Albany, and the sole command of the troops devolved on Montgomery, who prosecuted the siege with such vigour, that in a few days he became master of the place. After the reduction of St. John's, Montgomery advanced to Montreal with his victorious army. On his approach to that town, the few British forces which composed the garrison, repaired for safety on board the shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river, but they were prevented by a body of continental troops under the command of Colonel Easton, who was stationed at the point of Sorel river.— General Prescott with several officers, and 120 privates, surrendered themselves prisoners, on terms of capi-

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tulation; and the American General, after leaving a garrison in Montreal, advanced with a rapid march towards the capital of Canada.

While Montgomery was thus pursuing the career of victory, the province of Canada was invaded in another quarter by an enemy no less enterprising and intrepid than himself. A detachment of 1000 men was sent by General Washington, from the American army at Cambridge. This expedition was conducted by Colonel Arnold, who led his troops by an unexplored route thro' the wilderness. The difficulties encountered by this detachment during 31 days, were almost insurmountable. They proceeded in boats by the river Kenebeck, and were obliged to work upwards against its impetuous current. After suffering various hardships, and losing above 1-3d of his men, by sickness and desertion, Colonel Arnold arrived at the inhabited part of Canada, after a march of 6 weeks.

The appearance of Colonel Arnold before Quebec threw the inhabitants into the greatest consternation; but, as in his march it had been impossible to bring any cannon, he could only seize the avenues that led to the city, in order to cut off supplies and provisions, and await the arrival of the troops under Montgomery.

On the 5th of December, 1775, Montgomery arrived in sight of Quebec. He summoned it in due form, but the garrison fired at his flag of truce, and refused to admit his message. As the depth of winter approached, he was convinced of the necessity of either raising the siege, or taking the city by escalade.

General Carleton made such exertions as evinced the most determined resistance, and his example animated the courage of the garrison. The town was remarkably strong both by nature and art, and the number of the besiegers was inconsiderable; besides, the vigilance of the Governor was such, that every part was guarded with the greatest circumspection.

Montgomery, on the other hand, possessed all those romantic ideas of military glory which prevailed in the days of chivalry; and this love of enterprize was
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cherished by an intrepidity which made him overlook all perils; he was conscious that his troops would follow with alacrity wherever he should lead, and he determined to take the city by storm, or perish in the attempt.

On the 31st of December, 1775, he advanced to the attack by break of day. In order to incite emulation among the Provincial troops, there were two attacks, one by the New-England-men, headed by Arnold, and the other by the New-York-men, whom the General led in person.

The way thro' which Montgomery and his party had to pass was narrow, and as he knew the most desperate exertions of valour would be required, he had selected a number of his most resolute men for this enterprize. He advanced amid a heavy shower of snow, and, having seized the first barrier, he rushed forward at the head of his party, and hastened to close in upon the enemy. The second barrier, which led directly to the gates of the lower town, was defended by a strong body of the garrison, who were posted there with several pieces of cannon ready loaded.—Montgomery advanced, with a rapid movement, and was received with a volley of musketry and grape-shot, that, in an instant, killed and wounded almost the whole of his party. He fell himself, with his principal officers. The troops were so much disconcerted by the loss of their General, that they retreated. In the mean time, Colonel Arnold was engaged in a furious assault on the opposite side of the town. He attacked and carried a barrier defended with cannon, but this success was attended with a great loss of men, and he received a wound himself, which made it necessary to carry him off the field of battle. The officers on whom the command devolved continued the assault, and took possession of another barrier; but, the besieged, who now perceived the inconsiderable number of the assailants, sallied from a gate that opened towards their rear, and attacked them in turn. The Provincials were now hemmed in from all

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possibility of a retreat, and exposed to a tremendous fire from the walls; yet, in this dreadful situation, they maintained the contest 3 hours before they surrendered.

Tho' this expedition had failed in the great object, yet it effectually prevented any invasion from that quarter, a circumstance that had been apprehended by Congress.

The southern provinces now became involved in the contest, especially Virginia, where the disputes of the Governor, Lord Dunmore, with the Assembly, after repeated aggravations on both sides, terminated in open hostilities. He had retired from Williamsburg to Norfolk, where he was joined by a considerable number of Loyalists; but, after several skirmishes, he was obliged to retire to the shipping that lay in the river adjacent to the town. As it was now in the possession of the Americans, they not only refused to supply the people on board with provisions, but annoyed them by a number of riflemen, who were placed in houses near the ships, and who inhumanly aimed at, and killed several persons on board. Exasperated at their conduct, Lord Dunmore ordered a party to land, under cover of a man of war, and set fire to the town. Thus Norfolk was reduced to ashes, and the loss was estimated at 300,000*l.* sterling.

Meantime, the Governors of the two Carolinas were expelled by the people, and obliged to take refuge on board the British men of war.

Thus, at the conclusion of the year 1775, the whole of the British Colonies, except the town of Boston, were united against the Mother-country.

The British troops at Boston had endured a tedious blockade with their characteristic fortitude. All communication with the country was prevented, and the garrison suffered many inconveniencies from the want of necessaries. They felt the severities of a winter campaign in a rigorous climate, especially those who were stationed at Bunker's-Hill, where they lay exposed to winds and snows almost intolerable to a British constitution.

The Provincials, in the mean time, were well supplied with necessaries in their encampment before Boston. Here Washington presided, and, by his prudent regulations, the troops had all the comforts of good tents, bedding, and fresh provisions.

An intense frost usually begins throughout New England about the latter end of December, when the harbour of Boston, and all the rivers in the environs of that town, are generally frozen to a depth of ice sufficient to bear a great weight. Washington proposed to take possession not only of the town, but also to take or destroy all the shipping in the harbour, and by this decisive enterprize, put a conclusion to all the hopes of Great Britain in this quarter. His troops were eager to distinguish themselves by this achievement, and, if requisite, a greater force could soon be collected to second their efforts. This winter, however, was unusually mild, and, by preventing the operations of the Provincials, both they and the garrison were obliged to remain inactive.

In the mean time, Mr. Penn, who had bro't over the last petition from Congress, was examined at the bar of the House of Lords. This gentleman had been Governor of Pennsylvania, he was personally acquainted with most of the members of Congress, and was qualified to give the most authentic information respecting the temper and inclinations of the Americans. It appeared from his testimonies, that the charge of aiming at Independence, which had been imputed to Congress, was unfounded. They had been fairly elected, were men of character and abilities, the Colonies had the highest confidence in their integrity, and were governed by their decisions.

From his account, it appeared, that Pennsylvania, alone, was able to raise 60,000 men, 20,000 of whom had already enrolled themselves to serve without pay, and were armed and embodied before his departure from the continent. Besides, they had, in imitation of the Colony of Massachusetts, instituted a corps of minute-men, amounting to 5000.

After a tedious debate in both Houses of Parliament, the petition of Congress was rejected, all attempts to reconciliation were suspended, the standard of defiance seemed now to be raised, and both parties appeared determined to make the last appeal to arms.

When the news of this rejection of the American petition reached the camp before Boston, the troops expressed the greatest indignation. As Georgia had joined the confederacy, the Americans now changed their colours from a plain red ground, to 13 stripes, alternately red and white, to denote the number of the United Colonies.

Washington exerted his skill and activity, in order to compel the British either to surrender or evacuate Boston before any succours could arrive from England. On the 2d of March, 1776, he opened a battery on the west side of the town, and bombarded it.— This attack was supported by a tremendous cannonade; and, on the 5th, another battery was opened on the eastern shore. The garrison sustained this dreadful bombardment with the greatest fortitude; it lasted 14 days without intermission, when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, resolved to embark for Halifax.

The evacuation of Boston was not interrupted by the Provincials, lest the British troops should set it on fire.

When the Americans took possession of Boston, they found a multitude of valuable articles which were unavoidably left behind by the British army. The principal of these were artillery and ammunition;— but the most valuable booty was a large quantity of woollens and linens, of which the Provincials stood in the most pressing need.

Washington now directed his attention to the fortifications of Boston. He employed a number of foreign engineers to superintend the construction of new works, and so eager were the people in the prosecution of this business, that every effective man in the town,

town, without distinction, devoted 2 days of the week to its completion.

As Washington was uncertain of the destination of the British fleet and army which had left Boston, and as New-York lay exposed to any sudden attack, he detached several of his best regiments, under General Lee, for the defence of that city.

Meanwhile, a small fleet, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, and a body of troops, under Generals Cornwallis, Clinton, and Vaughan, sailed for Charleston, the capital of South-Carolina. After a violent, but unsuccessful attack, in which the fleet received considerable damage, the expedition was abandoned.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, formally renounced all connection with Great Britain, and declared themselves independent. They also published a manifesto, stating a list of grievances, which, notwithstanding their repeated petitions, remained unredressed. For these reasons, they determined on a final separation from the Mother-country, and to hold the people of Great Britain as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends." — This celebrated Declaration of Independence concluded as follows:

"We, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that the United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to make war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of
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of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

This formal renunciation of allegiance to Great Britain, was followed by the greatest preparations for war throughout the United States.

Washington took every precaution for defensive operations, by erecting forts, and stationing troops at the most vulnerable points. The nature of the country was peculiarly favourable to defence. New-England, especially, presented many natural barriers, consisting of hills and mountains, intersected by rivers, and interspersed with woods and precipices—several defiles, skirted by impenetrable forests—while majestic rivers, flowing with impetuous currents, seemed to preclude the invader.

General Howe resolved to quit Hallifax, and proceed to New-York, where he intended to wait for the reinforcements from England. He sailed about the middle of June, and at the end of the month arrived at Sandy-Hook, a point of land which stands at the entrance of a large body of water, formed by the confluence of several rivers, and which is surrounded by New-York, Staten, and Long-Island.

About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with a fleet and army from England. He sent a circular letter to the Governors who had been displaced by their respective provinces, in which he explained, that he was empowered, in conjunction with his brother, to grant general or partioular pardons to all those who were willing to return to their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. Congress ordered this letter to be published in all the news-papers, in order that the people of America might know the terms on which they were to act, viz. either unconditional submission, or a bold and manly resistance to despotic power; and, that those who relied on the justice or moderation of the British Ministry, might be fully convinced, that they must trust to their own valour for the preservation of their liberties.

Lord Howe next sent a letter to the American Commander in Chief, but, as it was directed to "George Washington, Esq." the General refused to receive it, as not directed to him agreeable to his station. His conduct, on this occasion, received the unanimous approbation of Congress.

To obviate this difficulty, Adjutant-General Paterson was sent by General Howe with a letter directed to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." He was politely received, and immediately admitted to the presence of the American General. The Adjutant expressed much concern on account of the difficulties that had arisen from the superscription of the former letter, and hoped that the *et ceteras* would remove all obstruction to an intercourse between the Commissioners and General Washington. To this he replied, "that a letter written to a person invested with a public character should specify it, otherwise it could not be distinguished from a letter on private business; true it was, the *et ceteras* implied every thing, but it was no less true, that they implied any thing."

The most interesting part of the conversation was that respecting the power of the Commissioners, whom the Adjutant said, were ready to exert themselves to the utmost to effect a reconciliation. The General replied, that it did not appear that these powers consisted in any more than granting pardons; but as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights.

From this conference, it was evident, that nothing but a decided superiority in the field could induce the Americans to relax the resolutions which they had taken with so much deliberation and solemnity.

The firmness of Congress had inspired the provincials with enthusiasm. That resolute body had declared America independent in the very face of the British fleet and army, while the first was casting anchor in sight of New York, and the reinforcements from England were making the second landing on Staten Island.

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An attack upon Long Island being determined on by the British commanders, the fleet covered the descent of the army, which effected a landing without any opposition, on the 22d of August, 1776. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified, on a northern peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was at a village called Flat Bush.

Large detachments of the American army occupied the hills and passes. The right of the British army was commanded by General Clinton, Lord Percy, and Lord Cornwallis; the centre, composed of Hessians, under General Heister, was posted at Flat Bush; and the left under General Grant, was stationed near the sea shore.

Early in the morning of the 27th, the engagement was begun by the Hessians, and a heavy fire of cannon and musquetry was continued on both sides for several hours. One of the passes which lay at a distance, had been neglected by the Americans, which gave an opportunity to the right division of the British army to pass the hills, and attack them in the rear.

The Americans, when apprized of their danger, retreated towards their camp, but they were intercepted, and driven back into the woods. Here they were met by the Hessians, and thus exposed to the fire of two parties. No way of escape now remained, but by forcing their way thro' the ranks of the enemy, and thus regaining their camp. This numbers of them effected, but by far the greater part were either killed or taken prisoners.

Washington had crossed over from New York in the height of the engagement, but he came too late to retrieve the fortune of the day. He had the mortification to see some of his best troops killed or taken, without being able to afford them any assistance,

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but he used his utmost exertions to save those that remained by a well conducted retreat.

The victory was complete : the Americans lost upwards of 3000 men, including 2000 killed, and 1000 taken prisoners, among whom were three generals—On the side of the British, the loss in killed and wounded was only about 500. Among the provincials who fell, a regiment from Maryland was particularly regretted. It consisted wholly of young men of the best families in that province. They behaved with the most admirable heroism : they were every one killed or wounded, and thus perished in the bloom of youth.

After this defeat, Washington did not think it expedient to risk another action against a numerous army of veterans, well provided with artillery, and elated with their recent victory. New York required to be strengthened, and the emergency did not admit of a moment's delay ; for should the British fleet be able to station itself between the camp and that city, all would be inevitably lost.

In this extremity, Washington exerted all his characteristic vigilance and circumspection. In the night of the 29th of August, favoured by darkness, and in the most profound silence, he conveyed his troops on board the boats and landed them on the opposite shore. He also carried off as much of their baggage, military stores and artillery, as the time would permit. This retreat was conducted with so much secrecy, that with the dawn, the British troops were surprised to see the rear guard of the American army in the boats and beyond the reach of danger.

When Washington returned with the army to New-York, he ordered batteries to be erected on every spot whence they could annoy the ships of war, which were now stationed in that part of the river which faces the city.

The men of war were continually engaged with those batteries, some of which they silenced and enabled the British troops to proceed up the river, to a bay

bay about three miles distant. Here the troops landed under the cannon of the fleet, and marched directly towards the city, on which Washington retreated with his men to the north of York Island. On this occasion, he lost a great part of his artillery and military stores, yet he engaged the British troops wherever he could make an advantageous stand.

Washington had been particularly careful to fortify the pass called King's bridge, and had chosen this position for his army with the greatest judgment. He could advance or retire at pleasure, without any danger of being cut off in case of a defeat. Though he was determined not to risk a general engagement, yet in order to inure his troops to actual service, and at the same time annoy the enemy, he employed them in continual skirmishes, in consequence of which they gradually became expert soldiers.

It was now determined to force the Americans to a greater distance, lest others of their emissaries should engage in an attempt to destroy the city. -----Accordingly, General Howe left a sufficient garrison at New York, and embarked his army in flat bottomed boats, by which they were conveyed thro' the dangerous passage called Hell Gate, and landed near the town of West Chester, on the continent.— After having fresh reinforcements, the Royal army made such movements as threatened to distress the Americans, by cutting off their supplies of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement.

Washington held a council of war with his officers, in which it was resolved to quit their present position and extend the army in a long but well secured line. This the general accomplished, by keeping the Bronx a river of considerable depth, in front, between the two armies, with the north river on his rear.

On the 28th of October, at break of day, the British troops divided into two columns, advanced towards the White Plains, an extent of high ground, full of craggy hills and defiles.

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The Americans maintained their ground in front till noon, when they were attacked with such vigour by the British army, that they were compelled to retire to their intrenchments.

During the night, Washington, ever intent on the defence and preservation of his army, ordered several additional works to be thrown up in front of the lines, in consequence of which, the English General tho't it imprudent to attack him till the arrival of reinforcements.

On mature deliberation, however, Washington tho't it adviseable to retreat: his camp was broke up on the 1st of November, and he retired, with his army, into a mountainous country, called the Township of Newcastle. By these judicious movements, he avoided a general action. His system was, to harrass the enemy, and habituate his men to danger, so that, when the emergency required it, they might be able to act with energy.

When General Howe found that all his attempts to bring the enemy to an action were ineffectual, he turned his attention to the reduction of Forts Washington and Lee. A division of his army advanced to King's Bridge, from which the Americans withdrew into Fort Washington, which was immediately invested. This fort was situated on the western side of New-York island, in the vicinity of the city, and nearly opposite to Fort Lee, which had been lately erected on the other side of the water, in the province of Jersey. Its chief strength was in its situation, and it was defended by 3000 men, well supplied with artillery. On the 16th of November, this fort was attacked by the British army, in four divisions, and, after a resistance of some hours, the garrison was overpowered, and obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

In order to obtain the full command of the North-River, it was also necessary to reduce Fort Lee. For this purpose, Lord Cornwallis crossed the river, landed on the Jersey shore, and marched with all possible

ble expedition to surprize the garrison. Being apprized of his approach, they evacuated the fort, leaving all their artillery and warlike stores to the enemy. Thus both the Jerseys were laid open to the incursions of the British troops. They penetrated so far, that their winter-quarters extended from New Brunswick to the river Delaware ; and so great was the consternation of the Americans, that, had the British army found a sufficient number of boats to ferry them over the Delaware, it is highly probable that Philadelphia would have fallen into their hands.

Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode-Island, and became master of that province, without the loss of a man. The affairs of the Americans also wore an inauspicious aspect on their northern frontiers, where General Arnold was defeated by General Carleton, and compelled to retire from Crown-Point to Ticonderoga.

The American army was now almost entirely disbanded. As the time for which the soldiers had enlisted was only a twelvemonth, at the expiration of that period, having fulfilled their agreement, they returned home, in consequence of which, General Washington found his army decreased from 30,000 to about 3000 men. To assist the Commander in Chief as much as possible, General Lee had collected a body of forces in the north, but, on his way southward, having imprudently lodged at some distance from the troops, he was made prisoner by a party of British light dragoons, who brought him to New-York.

The capture of General Lee was a heavy loss to the Americans. His professional knowledge was great, both in the theory and practice of tactics ; he was full of activity, fertile in expedients, and of a most intrepid and enterprizing disposition.

Congress now exerted themselves to retrieve their losses, and to recruit their army. They were furnished with a just plea for altering their mode of enlisting men : they ordered a new army to be levied, of which the soldier should be bound to serve 3 years,

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or during the continuance of the war. The most liberal encouragement was to be given to recruits.—Twenty dollars was allowed to every soldier, as bounty, besides an allotment of lands, at the end of the war, to all that served, and to the families of those who should lose their lives in the service of their country.

All the provinces exerted themselves in this season of universal danger, and hastened to send whatever reinforcements could be raised to their army that lay in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

Exclusive of the dread of being exposed to a victorious enemy, the Americans were particularly apprehensive of the Hessians, and other Germans, who had, on every occasion, committed the most barbarous outrages. Those ferocious mercenaries appropriated every thing they could lay their hands upon, and plundered a people who not only detested but despised them for their meanness and rapacity.

As the British troops lay cantoned on the banks of the Delaware, and only waited till the frost would enable them to cross it, the Americans thought it advisable to remove their Congress to Baltimore, in Maryland. Meanwhile, General Washington continued to watch over the safety of his country; his mind was continually occupied with new plans for the protection of his beloved America; and he beheld, with filial solicitude, the dangers that threatened her liberties.

The British army now occupied a chain of towns and villages throughout the heart of the Jerseys, and had extended their quarters to the banks of the Delaware. General Washington resolved to make some attempts on those divisions of the enemy that lay neareast that city, and, if possible, relieve it from the danger to which it was exposed.

A corps of Hessians lay at Trenton, another at Bordenton, some miles lower down, and a third at Burlington. Those towns were on the opposite bank of the Delaware, and the last within 20 miles of Philadelphia. The Hessians, from a confidence in their military superiority, became inattentive to the

motions of the Americans, and were wholly engaged with those licentious outrages that had rendered them odious to all the inhabitants.

Washington prepared to surprize the enemy in their quarters. Accordingly, he formed his army into three divisions—the first was to cross the Delaware at Trenton ferry—the second below Bordenton—and the third he commanded in person, accompanied by Generals Sullivan and Greene. This division consisted of 3000 of the best men in the American service, with a train of 20 field-pieces. On the 25th of December, Washington marched at the head of his division, to a ferry some miles above Trenton, with an intention to pass it at midnight, which would enable him to arrive at Trenton with the dawn.

It is impossible to contemplate the progress of this little army of patriots without emotion. As they march in solemn silence, without one friendly ray to guide their footsteps, what must be their sensations? On the success of their enterprize depends the freedom and happiness of innumerable millions yet unborn—on its failure awaits every evil that can appal the heart. The virtuous matron—the innocent child—the chaste virgin, all depend for protection on this heroic band. As they proceed, their bosoms throb with anxiety, while all the ardour of the soldier arises to overcome apprehension; neither the rigour of a winter's night, nor the certainty of the perils they must face can deter them from their purpose. Their leader, who, like an eagle driven from her nest, still hovers about its young, what are his thoughts!—his noble heart forbodes success, he anticipates victory; and, while he feels the glow of heroism, his fortitude is prepared to brave even defeat itself.

In consequence of the delay occasioned by the difficulty in breaking the ice, it was four o'clock in the morning before Washington could land his troops, with their artillery on the Jersey shore. He then formed his men into two grand divisions; one of which

which he ordered to proceed by the lower road, and he led the other by the upper road to Trenton. Though it was now eight o'clock, the enemy did not discover the approach of the Americans till they were attacked by Washington's division, and in three minutes afterwards the lower part of the town was assailed by the other detachment. Colonel Ralle, who commanded the Hessians, made every effort that could be expected from a brave veteran ; but he was mortally wounded, his troops were completely surrounded, and to the number of 1000 men laid down their arms.

This victory may be considered as one of the most fortunate events that befel the Americans during the war. Religious individuals attributed this success to the interposition of Divine Providence, that had suffered America to be reduced to the extreme of distress, in order to teach them not to place their reliance on their own strength, but to look to an Omnipotent Power for protection.

Washington repassed the Delaware, and his return to Philadelphia with such a considerable number of prisoners, was both pleasing and unexpected. To surprize a body of veterans, and defeat them in their own quarters, was an atchievement that excited the liveliest emotions of admiration in the breasts of the Americans. They were now emulous to second the efforts of a General who had so nobly effected their defence ; men of energy and influence were dispatched in all directions to rouse the militia, and about 1500 of the American troops, whose engagement was nearly expired, agreed to serve six weeks longer for a gratuity of ten dollars to each.

When the Hessian prisoners were secured, Washington again crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. Several detachments of the British assembled at Princeton, when they were joined by the army from Brunswick, commanded by Lord Cornwallis. This general now marched to Trenton, and attacked the Americans on the 2d of January, 1777, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The vanguard of the

Americans was compelled to retreat, but the pursuing enemy was checked by some field-pieces which were posted on the opposite bank of Sanpink Creek. Thus two armies, on which the success or failure of the American Revolution depended, were crowded into the village of Trenton, and only separated by a creek in many places fordable. The British army discontinued their operations, and lay on their arms in readiness to make another attack next morning.—Meanwhile Washington ordered the baggage to be silently removed, and having left fires and patrols in his camp to deceive the enemy, he led his army during the obscurity of the night, and by a circuitous route reached Princeton.

Washington had held a council of war with his officers, in which this movement had been determined on, as the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia from being captured by the British army. He reached Princeton early in the morning, and would have surrounded three regiments of British Infantry that were stationed there, had not a detachment that was marching to Trenton descried his troops, and dispatched couriers to alarm their fellow soldiers.

On their approach to Princeton, the centre of the Americans was charged by a party of the British troops, and compelled to retreat. In this emergency, Washington rode forward; he placed himself between his flying troops and the enemy. The Americans, encouraged by his exhortations and example, rallied and attacked the British in turn; and tho' Washington was for some moments between two fires, he providentially escaped without a wound. During this contest, the British troops displayed the most invincible valour. One of the three regiments, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, undismayed by the superiority of the Americans in point of numbers, charged them with their bayonets, forced their way through their ranks, and marched forward to Maidenhead;

the other two regiments retired in excellent order, and retreated to Brunswick.

The British general was so much disconcerted at these unexpected manœuvres of Washington, that he evacuated Trenton, and retired with his whole force to Brunswick !

Thus, in the space of a month, all that part of the Jerseys which lies between Brunswick and Delaware, was overrun by the British troops, and recovered by the Americans. Washington stationed troops in all the important places which he had regained, and the campaign of 1776 closed with few advantages to the British arms, except the acquisition of New York.

During these hostile operations, both armies had suffered great hardships. Many of the American soldiers were destitute of shoes, and their naked feet were often wounded by the inequalities of the frozen ground; insomuch that their footsteps were marked with blood. Their clothing was too slight for the rigorous season; there was scarcely a tent in the whole army, yet so enthusiastically were they attached to their General, that they underwent those hardships without repining. Washington merited this generous confidence; his benignity to his troops, the cheerfulness with which he participated their inconveniences and dangers, and the heroism which he displayed in the heat of action, commanded their veneration. In the actions at Trenton and Princeton, he united the stratagem of Hannibal with the intrepidity of Cæsar; while his success animated the hopes, and roused the energies of the friends of American independence.

Though vested with extraordinary powers to raise troops, he found it very difficult to keep those he had together. A few were influenced, by the persuasions of their officers, to remain and defend the common cause, but the major part of the army were induced to serve by their attachment to their General. Indeed, the high estimation in which he was held by his countrymen, was of the greatest efficacy on many occasions, and

and now it absolutely prevented the troops from disbanding themselves.

The recruits supplied by the several provinces, fell short of the intended number; yet while the British troops were detained at New York, Washington received numerous reinforcements. He now moved from his winter encampment at Morristown, to the high lands about Middle Brook, in the vicinity of Brunswick. In this strong position, he threw up works along the front of his lines, but his principal advantage was the difficulty to approach his camp, the ground being so judiciously occupied as to expose the enemy to every kind of danger in an attack. On the one side he covered the Jerseys, and on the other he observed the motions of the British army at Brunswick, of which he commanded a full prospect.

Many stratagems were employed by the British General to draw Washington from his strong situation, but without effect, so that it was found necessary to make an attempt on Philadelphia by sea.

On the 23d of July, the British fleet sailed from Sandy Hook, with 36 battalions of British and Hessian infantry, a regiment of light dragoons, and a corps of American Loyalists on board. After a tedious navigation, they went up the river Elk as far as was practicable. Here the army landed, without opposition, on the 25th of August. Part of the troops were left to guard the stores, while General Howe proceeded, with the main body, to the head of the Elk.

When Washington received information that the British fleet had sailed up the Chesapeake, he marched with all possible expedition to the defence of Philadelphia. His army, amounting to 12000, passed thro' that city to meet the British forces, which consisted of 15000. He encamped on the Brandywine Creek, about midway from the Elk to Philadelphia, and sent detachments to harrass the British army on their march.

On the approach of the enemy, Washington retired to the side of the Creek next Philadelphia, with a de-

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termination to dispute the passage. On the 11th of September, the royal army advanced to the attack at day-break, and, after a well contested battle, which lasted till night, the Americans were defeated with the loss of 1000 killed and wounded, besides 500 taken prisoners. On the side of the conquerors, the loss did not exceed 500. The victory was so complete, that darkness alone prevented the pursuit and consequent destruction or capture of the whole provincial army. The greatest valour had been displayed by the officers and soldiers on both sides. Among the American troops who distinguished themselves most, were the Virginians, who, from their affection for Washington, had on all occasions evinced the greatest intrepidity and enthusiasm.

Immediately after the battle the Americans retired to Chester, whence Washington wrote an account of his defeat to the President of Congress. His letter is dated 12 o'clock at night, and is perhaps the most faithful picture ever given, of the reflections of a great mind amid disaster and difficulty. His troops tho' defeated were not dispirited, and they considered their misfortune rather as the consequence of superior skill on the side of their enemies, than as proceeding from any defect of valour on theirs.

Congress, which had returned from Baltimore to Philadelphia, were now obliged to retire a second time. They went first to Lancaster, and afterwards to York-Town.

General Howe, at the head of the van-guard of his army entered Philadelphia in triumph on the 26th of September, and the main body of the British army encamped in the vicinity of that city. The American army was posted at Skippach Creek sixteen miles distant. When Washington received the intelligence that the British army was divided, he resolved to surprise the camp of the principal division at German Town.—Accordingly, on the 3d of October, in the evening, he marched in great silence, and about 3 o'clock in the morning he reached the British camp, and immediately.

diately made the requisite dispositions for an attack. The patrols discovered his approach, and the troops were called to arms.

The Americans assailed the camp with the greatest intrepidity, but they were received with such bravery, that, after a very hot action, they were repulsed, and compelled to retreat with considerable loss.

When the news that Philadelphia was in possession of the royal army reached the northern colonies, they sent a reinforcement of 4000 of their best men to Washington. On their arrival, he advanced within 14 miles of the city, and fixed himself in a strong encampment at White Marsh. The British general marched out of Philadelphia in the beginning of December, to afford Washington an opportunity of coming to a general engagement, but he was determined to act merely on the defensive. Finding that he could not provoke the enemy to engage, General Howe returned to the city on the 8th of December, and his army went into winter quarters.

Washington now removed his camp to Valley Forge on the banks of the Schuylkill, about 15 miles from Philadelphia. In this strong position he could observe every motion of the British army. Huts were erected, in order to protect his army from the rigour of winter. The willingness with which the troops consented to undergo the various hardships of so uncomfortable a situation, was a proof of the warmth of their attachment to their General, and their determination to defend their country.

While the British army were thus successful in the middle colonies, more important and decisive events happened in the northern provinces. General Burgoyne was sent at the head of a veteran army, to make a vigorous campaign upon the lakes and in the adjoining provinces. He first took possession of Ticonderoga, then crossed Lake George, and encamped on the banks of the Hudson near Saratoga. Here his progress was checked by the Americans under General Gates; and after two severe actions, he was
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forced to surrender on the 17th of October, 1777.— This event diffused an universal joy throughout the United States. The European nations, and France in particular, who, from prejudice or envy, had so long been desirous of the downfall of British grandeur, received this news with open exultation. Indeed, several individuals in France had exerted themselves in favour of the Americans. A number of brave and experienced officers of the Irish brigade, volunteered in the cause of the British colonies against their parent state; and even some of the young nobility of France were emulous to distinguish themselves on this occasion. The most conspicuous of these, were the Marquis de la Fayette;* Roche du Fermoy, who served in the army that acted against General Burgoyne; De Coudray, a French officer of rank; and Baron St. Ovary.

By the assistance of these auxiliaries, the Americans daily improved in discipline, and the successful close of the campaign on the frontiers, cheered them with the most pleasing expectations respecting the issue of the war.

On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of alliance between France and America was signed by the contracting parties. Washington appointed a day for the whole army to celebrate this event, and it was observed with the greatest military pomp.

In May, General Howe took his departure for England, and the chief command of the British army devolved on Sir Henry Clinton.

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* Perhaps no biographical history of modern days would be more curious than an impartial one of M. la Fayette—his generous exertions in the cause of America—the conspicuous figure he made in the beginning of the French Revolution—his cruel imprisonment by the Emperor, and the ingratitude of his own countrymen—would altogether form a most interesting and instructive narrative, founded on extraordinary facts, and circumstances within our memory, and almost within our own observation.

The English Commissioners, appointed by the British Ministry to attempt a reconciliation with the Colonies, arrived at New-York in the beginning of June, but before they could receive an answer from Congress, General Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, after the British army had kept possession of it for nine months. This event took place on the 18th of June, and it was considered by the Americans as the harbinger of their Independence. They asserted, that the strength of Britain was broken on the American continent, and that the army retreated towards the sea, to be in readiness to embark, if the exigencies of Britain required its assistance.

The British army marched out of Philadelphia at 3 o'clock in the morning, and crossed the Delaware before noon, with all its baggage.

Washington had been apprized of this movement, and dispatched expresses into the Jerseys to collect troops. He passed the Delaware with the main body of his army, and was hourly joined by reinforcements of regular troops and militia.

General Clinton retreated across the country towards Sandy Hook, whence a passage to New York might be easily effected. In the meantime, Washington pursued the British army; he sent the Marquis de la Fayette with a detachment of chosen troops to harass the rear of the enemy; General Lee, who had been lately exchanged, followed with a division to support him; and Washington himself moved with the main body to sustain the whole.

On the 27th of June, the British army encamped in a strong position at Monmouth, near Freehold; and, on the morning of the 28th, the van division of the Americans under General Lee, commenced the attack by a severe cannonade; but Sir Henry Clinton, had made such judicious arrangements of his troops, that the enemy were unable to make any impression on his rear.

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The British grenadiers and light infantry engaged the Americans with such vigour, that their first line, commanded by General Lee, was completely broken; their second line was also defeated; they both rallied however, and posted themselves with a morass in their front. They were again charged by the British troops, and were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat by the junction of their main body under Washington.

In this action the bravery and discipline of the British troops were conspicuous. They had forced an enemy superior in number from two strong positions, and had endured excessive fatigue both from the intense heat of the day and unremitting toil. The loss of the royal army was about 500 men, and that of the Americans was considerable.

General Lee, who commanded the van division of the American army in the action at Monmouth, was, in consequence of his misconduct, put under arrest, tried by a Court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command.

Washington, after the retreat of the British army, marched to White Plains, near King's-Bridge, where he encamped. He remained in this position till the latter end of autumn, when he retired to Middle-brook, in Jersey. Here his army erected huts, similar to those they had made at Valley-Forge, and went into winter-quarters.

In May, 1779, General Clinton sent a division of the British army to take Stoney-Point, a strong fort on the western side of the North-River. This expedition was successful, as the distance at which Washington lay with his army prevented him from giving any assistance to the garrison. The British General fortified Stoney-Point in the strongest manner, and encamped at Philipsburg, half-way between that fortress and New-York; to be in readiness to compel Washington to an engagement, if he should leave his station in Jersey.

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In order to counteract these operations, Washington advanced towards the British army. He took a strong position at West-Point, on the banks of the North-River, and formed a design to recover Stoney-Point by surprize. He sent General Wayne, one of the most intrepid officers in his army, to conduct this enterprize. Wayne, at the head of a detachment of chosen men, arrived in the evening of the 15th of July within sight of Stoney-Point. He formed his men into two columns, with orders to use the bayonet only. The right column was commanded by himself in person, the left by Major Stewart, a bold and active officer. At midnight, the two columns marched to the attack, from the opposite sides of the works, which were surrounded with a morass and two rows of abbatiss, well provided with artillery. The Americans were opposed by a tremendous fire of musketry and grape-shot, but they pressed forward with the bayonet, and both columns met in the centre of the works, where the garrison, amounting to 500 men, were obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

When the British General received intelligence of the surprize of Stoney-Point, he marched with his army to retake it, and as Washington did not consider the possession of that fortress of sufficient importance to risk a general action, he demolished the works, and carried off the artillery.

Towards the end of the year 1779, General Clinton sailed from New-York, with a considerable body of troops, to attack Charleston, South Carolina, where General Lincoln commanded. After a close siege of 6 weeks, the town was surrendered to the British General, and the whole American garrison made prisoners. In August, 1780, Lord Cornwallis defeated the Americans, under General Gates, at Camden in South Carolina, and he afterwards marched thro' the Southern States without opposition.

During the summer of 1780, the British troops made frequent incursions from New-York into the Jerseys, and an unsuccessful attempt was made by

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General Knyphausen with 7000 men, to surprize the advanced posts of Washington's army. So great were the necessities of the American army, that Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties for specified quantities of provisions; nay, he was sometimes compelled to send detachments of his troops to take necessaries at the point of the bayonet from the citizens. This scarcity was principally owing to the depreciation of the paper currency, which discouraged the farmers from selling their provisions to the army. The situation of Washington was peculiarly embarrassing—the army looked to him for necessaries, and the people for the protection of their property. His prudence surmounted these difficulties, and Congress sent a Committee of their own body to his camp, to concert measures for the payment and supply of the troops. As the attempt of the British army against Washington had made no impression of any consequence, the Americans began to recover from the alarm which the loss of Charleston had excited. Warm exhortations were made to the people by Congress, in which they were called upon by every motive that could animate them to act with spirit and promptitude against Great Britain.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton returned with his victorious army from Charleston; and General Arnold, who had been entrusted with the command of a very considerable division of the American army at West-Point, agreed to deliver up that important post to the British General. As Washington had set out for Hartford to hold a conference with Count de Rochambeau, the negociation between Sir Henry Clinton and Arnold was carried on with greater facility during his absence. The agent employed by the British General was Major Andre, a young officer of uncommon merit. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North-River, and a boat was sent at night from the shore to fetch Major Andre.—

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When he had received such instructions as related to his business, he set out on his return, but was intercepted, and all his papers seized. Arnold escaped on board the Vulture, but Major Andre was brought before a board of general Officers, by whom he was considered as a spy, and sentenced to death. The officers who signed the condemnation of Andre, and even Washington himself, testified the sincerest grief at the necessity they declared themselves under of complying with the rigorous laws established in such cases.

At the close of the year 1780, the American army felt the rigour of the season with peculiar circumstances of aggravation by want of pay, clothing, &c. The troops had been enlisted for 3 years, which were now expired, and, incensed at so long a continuance of hardships, an insurrection broke out in the Pennsylvania line, which was followed by that of New Jersey. The complaints of these soldiers being well founded, were redressed, and a general amnesty closed the business. That part of the American army which was under the command of Washington, did not escape the contagion of revolt. He prudently remained in his quarters, where his presence, and the respect and affection for his person, tho' it did not prevent murmurs, kept his men within bounds, and prevented a mutiny.

The campaign of 1781, was opened with great vigour by the British army in Carolina. After several skirmishes with various success, the two armies under Lord Cornwallis and General Greene, met at Guildford, on the 15th of March 1781, and after a well contested action, the British remained masters of the field. Lord Cornwallis afterwards marched into Virginia, where notwithstanding the advantages he gained over the Americans, his situation became very critical. Sir Henry Clinton was prevented from sending him reinforcements, as he was apprehensive that Washington intended to attack New York. The American Commander in Chief employed great finesse to deceive the British general, and by a variety
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of judicious manœuvres, kept him in continual alarm. —In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis took possession of York Town, in Virginia, and he was followed by the Marquis de la Fayette, who had been dispatched by Washington with 2000 light infantry to watch the motions of the British army.

On the 30th of August, Count de Grasse anchored in Chesapeak Bay, with 24 ships of the line. He landed troops to co-operate with Washington, who had moved with the main body of his army to the southward, and when he heard of the arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeak, he proceeded by forced marches to the head of Elk, which he crossed and proceeded to York Town.

Washington now invested York Town, with an army of 15,000 Americans, and 9000 French. He had selected his best troops for this important occasion, and the French were chosen out of the bravest corps in France.

The French and American batteries mounted with 50 pieces of cannon, were opened against York Town on the night of the 6th of October, and an incessant fire was kept up till the 14th, when two detachments of the besiegers attacked and stormed two redoubts in front of the British works. The besieged were now so reduced by sickness, and the accidents of war, that they amounted only to 5,600 effective men. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton selected 7000 of his best troops, which he embarked at New York, on board the British fleet, with a determination to succour the army under Lord Cornwallis; but the garrison at York Town having persevered to the utmost extremity, and no prospect of relief appearing, a negociation was opened with Washington, and the troops and seamen were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Thus terminated the decisive campaign of 1780, which realised American Independence.

Soon after the capture of Lord Cornwallis, the British armament appeared off the Chesapeake, in the latter end of October, but to their mortification, they
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were apprized that the army under Lord Cornwallis had surrendered.

Washington felt all the honest exultation of a patriot at this event. The orders published in his camp, on the 20th of October, were strongly expressive of his satisfaction. He congratulated the officers and soldiers of the combined armies on their success, and issued a general pardon to all persons in the Continental army who were under arrest, "that every heart might partake of the general joy." Nor did he omit what he knew would be peculiarly acceptable to the religious turn of many of his countrymen. His orders concluded with a particular injunction, "That a thanksgiving service should be performed," at which it was solemnly recommended to the troops to assist with that seriousness and sensibility of heart which the surprizing interposition of Providence in their favour so justly claimed.

Washington was solicitous that the prisoners of war should be well treated. By his orders, they were distributed in the provinces of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and their allowance was the same as that of the American army.

Congress voted an address of thanks to Washington, Count Rochambeau, Count de Grasse, and all the officers and soldiers of the combined armies, for the services they had performed. They also resolved, "That, in remembrance of the surrender of the British army, a marble column should be erected at York-Town, Virginia, adorned with emblems of the alliance between France and the United States of America, and inscribed with a succinct account of the memorable event it was intended to commemorate."

Washington now returned with the principal part of his army to the vicinity of New-York, where, as he was unable to reduce that city, he went into winter quarters. The only appearances of an existing war were some skirmishes and predatory excursions.

On the 5th of May, 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New-York, being appointed to command the

the British army in America. Immediately on his arrival, he acquainted Washington and Congress, that negociations for a peace had been commenced at Paris. Meanwhile, the British troops evacuated all their posts in South Carolina and Georgia, and retired to the main army at New-York.

Preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, and, by Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, on the part of the United States. By this treaty his Majesty acknowledged the Thirteen United Colonies to be "free, sovereign and independent States."

As military operations were now entirely suspended, it was no longer necessary to keep the American army embodied. The States, however, were unable to pay them the arrears due for their inestimable services, and those men who had spent the prime of their days in defence of their country, were now to be dismissed without a reward.

An attempt was made by anonymous papers to incite the officers and soldiers to revolt. Washington, who was then in the camp, saw the danger, and exerted his influence to prevent it. At a meeting of the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, the Commander in Chief addressed them in a pathetic speech, in which he conjured, them "as they valued their honour, as they respected the rights of humanity, and as they regarded the military and national character of America, to express their utmost detestation of the man who was attempting to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire with blood." Washington then retired. The officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, entered into a resolution, by which they declared, "that no circumstance of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their Country, and that
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they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions in the late anonymous address to the officers of the army.

The fortitude and patriotism of Washington were in no instance of more essential service to America, than on this momentous occasion. Instead of making the discontent of the army instrumental to his own ambition, and usurping the government, this magnanimous patriot soothed the passions of his soldiers, and preserved inviolate the liberties of his country.

Towards the close of the year 1783, Congress issued a proclamation, in which the armies of the United States were applauded for their "long, eminent, and faithful services." Congress then declared it to be their pleasure, "that such part of their Federal armies as stood engaged to serve during the war, should, from and after the 3d day of November next, be absolutely discharged from the said service."

Washington's "Farewel Orders to the Armies of the United States," dated Rocky-Hill, near Princeton, 2d Nov. 1783, is a pathetic exhortation, in which the disinterestedness of the Patriot is blended with the wisdom of the Philosopher.—It contains the following interesting and impressive passages:

"It only remains for the Commander in Chief to address himself once more, and for the last time, to the armies of the United States, and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

"It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the establishment of our Independence, almost exceed the power of description; and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to this inestimable acquisition, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained?—In such a Republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours?—To these hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employments; and
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the fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence.

“ The Commander in Chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldiers to change the military character into that of the Citizen ; but that steady and decent tenour of behaviour, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, thro’ the course of the war—from their good sense and prudence, he anticipates the happiest consequences ;—and, while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. To the various branches of the army, the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship—He wishes more than bare professions were in his power—that he was really able to be useful to them in future life. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful Country, and his prayers to the God of Armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven’s favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others !—With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander in Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed for ever.”

To this address, the army that remained at West-Point, on the banks of the Hudson, sent a most respectful and affectionate answer. After returning thanks to their General, for his exertions in their favour,

your, they express their feelings in the following bold and figurative language :

“ Regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius of our Country, dignified by our Sovereignty and Independence, supported by Justice, and adorned with every liberal Virtue. There we saw patient Husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated Commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair Science lift her head, with all the Arts attending in her train. There, blest with Freedom, we saw the human Mind expand, and throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Those animating prospects are now changing to realities, and actively to have contributed to their production, is our pride, our glory.”

New-York was evacuated by the British troops about 3 weeks after the discharge of the American army. Meanwhile, Washington, having finished the great work of the Revolution, and founded a Republic, he wished to retire from the eye of observation to the peaceful rural shades of his patrimonial inheritance. Accordingly, he took leave of his officers in the most solemn manner. Having been previously assembled for that purpose, Washington joined them, and, calling for a glass of wine, addressed them in the following words: “ With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you:—I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honourable.” The officers were deeply affected;—they came up to him successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each. He then left the room, and passed between the ranks of a corps of light infantry, that lined his way to the side of the North-River.—The officers followed him in a solemn silent train;—their eyes were suffused with tears. They felt a strong emotion of regret at parting with a hero who had participated their dangers, and so often led them

to glory. When Washington entered the barge, he turned towards his fellow-soldiers, with a countenance expressive of his feelings, and waved his hat as a last adieu.

He proceeded to Annapolis, to resign his commission to Congress, and was accompanied by his nephew, Major George Washington, and Colonel Humphreys, his aid-de-camp. His progress was marked by public rejoicings; triumphal arches were erected at the entrance of every town and village thro' which he passed. A number of beautiful young virgins, robed in white, met him with songs of gratulation—they strewed laurels before the benign hero, who moved slowly along, on a white charger. The name of Washington excited an universal emotion. Women and children thronged the doors and windows, eager to behold the Deliverer of their Country—bands of music filled the air with sprightly melody, while the men, who had fought under the banners of Liberty, hailed their General with acclamations. Washington received this tribute of public gratitude with his characteristic benignity, while his bosom participated the general happiness.

On his arrival at Annapolis, he informed Congress of his intended resignation;—they resolved it should be in a public audience, and on the day appointed, numbers of distinguished persons attended, to behold the interesting scene. General Washington addressed the President in the following words:

“Mr. President,

“The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

“Happy in the confirmation of our Independence and Sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable

nation, I resign with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the Supreme Power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“ The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations, and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

“ While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who had been attached to my person during the war : It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate ; permit me, Sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ I consider it as my indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

To this the President returned the following answer :

“ The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and doubtful war.

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“ Called upon by your Country to defend its invaded rights, you had accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support her.

“ You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius and transmit their fame to posterity.— Having defended the standard of Liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who reflect, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessing of your fellow-citizens ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command—it will continue to animate remotest ages.”

Washington now hastened to Mount Vernon, where he was welcomed by his affectionate consort, neighbours and domestics, with every demonstration of joy ; and divesting himself of the military robe, he once more assumed the plain garb of the farmer.

Agriculture was his favourite pursuit—His estate at Mount Vernon particularly engaged his attention, and was productive of large quantities of wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, and flax, besides flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.—His life was regulated by temperance ; he rose early, and after spending the day in a variety of rural pursuits, he retired to rest about nine o’clock. This was his invariable rule, except when visitors required his polite attention. His table was spread with the most wholesome viands and pure wines, but he commonly dined on a single dish, which, with a few glasses of wine, formed his repast. He liberally patronized an academy at Alexandria, encouraged the interior navigation of the Potomack ; he was the benefactor of the poor, and, in short, like the sun to vegetation, his cheering influence and example promoted the happiness of society where he resided.

In these peaceful scenes, Washington enjoyed the rational delights of rural life from the year 1783, till

the summer of 1787, when he was chosen President of the Convention, which met at Philadelphia, and framed the present Constitution of the United States. The Federal Union, after eleven years experience, had been found inadequate to the purposes of government. "The fundamental distinction between the Articles of Confederation and the *new* Constitution, lies in this; the former acted only on States, the latter on individuals;—the former could neither raise men or money by its own authority, but lay at the discretion of 13 different Legislatures, and, without their unanimous concurrence, was unable to provide for the public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. By the new Constitution, one Legislative, Executive, and Judicial power pervades the whole Union." After a full consideration, and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by 11 of the 13 States, and North Carolina and Rhode Island have since given their concurrence.

The new Constitution being thus adopted, Washington was chosen President in April, 1789, by the unanimous vote of his countrymen. When he received intelligence of his election, he set out from Mount Vernon for New-York. He was escorted by the militia and gentlemen of the first character from State to State, and numerous addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of the towns thro' which he passed. On his approach to Philadelphia, he was met by above 20,000 citizens, who conducted him to the city, where an elegant entertainment was prepared for him.

His progress from Philadelphia to New-York is thus described by an elegant writer, and presents an animated picture of public gratitude. "When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with 3 cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly
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ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed, in large figures, "December 26th, 1776." On the sweep of the arch, was this inscription, "The Defender of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters." On the north side were ranged a number of young girls, dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms—in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode :

" Welcome, mighty Chief, once more,

" Welcome to this grateful shore :—

" Now no mercenary foe

" Aims, again, the fatal blow—

" Aims at thee the fatal blow.

" Virgins fair, and matrons grave,

" These thy conq'ring arm did save,

" Build for thee triumphant bowers ;

" Strew ye fair, his way with flowers,

" Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

" As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their beloved Deliverer.— His situation, on this occasion, contrasted with what he had, in December 1776, felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York, in an elegant barge, by 13 pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself thro' every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the Governor of the State and officers of the Corporation. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated."

On the 30th of April he was inaugurated President of the United States, and took the oath enjoined by the Constitution, in the following words, " I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best
of

of my ability, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." An universal and solemn silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. The Chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States, and was answered by the discharge of cannon and the acclamations of 20,000 citizens.

Soon after his appointment to the Chief Magistracy, he visited the Eastern States, with a view to promote agriculture, and explore the means of national improvement. The French Revolution, which has excited the attention of mankind, proved a severe test to the prudence of Washington. Tho' he secretly disapproved of the violent measures of the French Republic, yet he saw that it was necessary for America to preserve a mutual good understanding with that nation.

Washington was twice elected President, and during his 8 years administration, he performed the duties of his arduous office with all the zeal of an honest patriot.—After having spent 45 years of his life in the service of his country, he, in September, 1796, announced his determination to retire, in an address*, expressive of his gratitude and affection.

Washington once more retired to his favourite seat, with the hope of devoting the remainder of his days to the calm duties of domestic life. From March, 1797, to July 1798, he enjoyed the pleasures arising from the practice of virtue. The aggressions of France now alarmed Mr. Adams's administration, and that they might be prepared to resist open hostility, they found it expedient to embody their army. Convinced of the abilities and integrity of that venerable man, whose valour had been instrumental to the emancipation of his country, Congress appointed Washington Commander in Chief the Armies. He accepted the appointment, and his letter to the President on that occasion, is marked with that perspicuity which distinguishes all his writings.

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* We recommend this Address to the attentive perusal of every citizen of America.

But the moment now approached in which this illustrious character was to be removed to another state of existence. On the 12th of December, 1799, he rode out to one of his plantations, and the day being rainy he caught cold, which brought on an inflammatory sore throat. This disease became alarming on Friday, and when his physician arrived on Saturday morning, medical aid was inefficacious. A few minutes before he expired, he enquired, "Doctor, how long am I to remain in this situation?" — The physician replied, "Not long, Sir."

A Gentleman, who was present at Mount Vernon, has furnished us with the following particulars relative to the death of General Washington:—

"The General, a little before his death, had begun several improvements on his farm. Attending to some of these, he probably caught his death. He had in contemplation a gravel walk on the banks of the Potomack; between the walk and the river there was to be a fish pond. Some trees were to be cut down, and others preserved. On Friday the day before he died, he spent some time by the side of the river marking the former. There came a fall of snow, which did not deter him from his pursuit, but he continued till his neck and hair were quite covered with snow. He spent the evening with Mrs. Washington, reading the news-papers, which came by the mail that evening; he went to bed as usual about 9 o'clock, waked up in the night, and found himself extremely unwell, but would not allow Mrs. Washington to get up, or the servants to be waked. In the morning, finding himself very ill, Dr. Craik of Alexandria, was sent for. — Soon after his arrival, two consulting physicians were called in, but all would not avail. On Saturday he died. He said to Col. Lear a little before his death, "bury me decently, and not till two days after my decease." — To Dr. Craik he said, "I die a very hard death, but I am not afraid to die." — Before he breathed his last, he laid himself on his back, placed his hands before him, and closed his own mouth and eyes."

PHILADELPHIA, *Dec. 19.*

On Saturday the 14th inst. died at his seat in Virginia, General George Washington, Commander in Chief of the Armies, and late President of the Congress, of the United States of America—mature in years, covered with glory, and rich in the affections of a free people, and the admiration of the whole civilized world.

When men of common character are swept from the theatre of life, they die without the tribute of public concern, as they had lived without a claim to public esteem—But when Personages of great and exalted worth, are summoned from this sublunary scene, their death calls forth a burst of general regret, and invigorates the flame of public gratitude—In obedience therefore to the voice of their Country, the Poet, the Orator, and the Historian, will combine to do justice to the character of this illustrious PATRIOT; whilst the ingenious labours of the Sculptor, the Statuary, and the Painter, will unite in perpetuating the virtues of *THE MAN OF THE AGE.*

Mourn, COLUMBIA, mourn!—Thy Father and Protector is no more!—Mourn Reader, of whatever kindred, tongue, or clime thou be, *thy* Friend, the Friend of Man and of Liberty, is gone!—The Hero, the Sage, the Patriot, this glorious emanation of the Deity, is carried back to the bosom of his God!—The recording Angel has enregistered his virtuous deeds in Heaven, and the name of WASHINGTON will live for ever!

ALEXANDRIA, *Dec. 20*

On Wednesday last the mortal part of WASHINGTON THE GREAT—the Father of his Country, and the Friend of Man—was consigned to the silent tomb with solemn honours and funeral pomp.

A multitude of people, from many miles round, assembled at Mount Vernon, the choice abode, and last earthly residence of its illustrious Chief. There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful scenery, the noble mansion—but alas! its august inhabitant was gone!—his body indeed, was gone, but his soul was fled!

In the long and lofty portico, where oft the Hero walked in all his virtuous glory, now lay the shrouded corpse.—The countenance, still composed and serene, seemed to express the dignity of that spirit which so lately actuated the lifeless form—There, those who paid the last sad honours to the Benefactor of his Country, took a last—a sad farewell.

Near the head of the coffin, were inscribed the words *Surge ad Judicium*; about the middle, *Gloria Deo*; and, on the silver plate, *General George Washington departed this Life 14th Dec. Ætat 68.*

Between 3 and 4 o'clock, the sound of artillery from a vessel in the river firing minute guns, aroused all our sorrowful feelings—the body was moved, and a band of music with mournful melody, melted the soul into all the tenderness of woe.—The procession marched in the following order:

Cavalry, Infantry, and Guard with arms reversed;		
Clergy;—Music;		
The General's horse, with his saddle, holsters, and pistols;		
Col. Simms,	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> { CORPSE } </div>	Col. Gilpin,
Ramfay,		Marsteller,
Payne,		Little;
Mourners;		
Masonic Brethren;		
And Citizens.		

When the procession arrived at the bottom of the lawn on the banks of the Potomack, where the family vault is placed, the Cavalry halted, and the Infantry marched towards the mount and formed in lines; the Clergy, the Masonic Brethren, and the Citizens, descended to the vault, where the Church funeral service was performed.

Three general discharges by the artillery, cavalry, and infantry, paid the last tribute of respect to the entombed Commander in Chief of the American Armies.

The Sun was now setting—Alas, the Son of Glory was set—No, the name of WASHINGTON will live for ever!

From Vernon's Mount behold the Hero rise
 Resplendent Forms attend him thro' the skies!
 The shades of war-worn Veterans round him throng,
 And lead enwrap'd their honour'd Chief along.
 A laurel wreath the immortal WARREN bears,
 An arch triumphal MERCER's hand prepares;
 Young LAWRENCE, erst th' avenging bolt of war,
 With port majestic, guides the glittering car;
 MONTGOMERY's godlike form directs the way,
 And GREEN unfolds the gates of endless day;
 Whilst Angels, "trumpet tongu'd," proclaim thro' air,
 "Due Honours for THE FIRST OF MEN prepare!"

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY *Dec.* 19, 1799.

Mr. Marshall addressed the Chair as follows:

"Mr. SPEAKER—The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more!—The hero, the sage, and the patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now, only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and an afflicted people.

"If, Sir, it had even not been usual, openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom Heaven had selected as its instruments for dispensing good to men, yet, such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents, which have marked the life of him, whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice, for a public manifestation of that sorrow which is so deep and so universal.

"More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading Empire, and to give to the Western World its independence and freedom.

"Having effected the great object for which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him converting the sword into the plough-share, and voluntarily sinking the Soldier into the Citizen.

“ When the debility of our Federal system had become manifest, and the bonds, which connected the parts of this vast continent, were dissolving, we have seen him the Chief of those Patriots who formed for us a Constitution, which, by preserving the Union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings, which our Revolution had promised to bestow.

“ In obedience to the general voice of his Country, calling on him to preside over a Great People, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and in a season more tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination, pursue the true interests of the Nation, and contribute, more than any other could contribute, to the establishment of that system of policy, which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and our independence.

“ Having been twice unanimously chosen the Chief Magistrate of a Free People, we see him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, affording to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

“ However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate with respect to others, yet, with respect to him, they have in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

“ Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of affection and respect to our departed Friend—Let the Grand Council of the Nation display those sentiments which the Nation feels.—For this purpose I hold in my hand some Resolutions, which I take the liberty of offering to the House.”

Mr. Marshall having handed his Resolutions to the Clerk, they were read, and unanimously agreed to as follows, viz.

Resolved, That this House will wait on the President of the United States, in condolence of this mournful event.

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Resolved, That the Speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the Members and Officers of the House wear black during the Session.

Resolved, That a Committee, in conjunction with one from the Senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the MAN, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his Countrymen.

MONDAY, Dec. 23.

Mr. Marshall made a report from the joint Committee appointed to consider a suitable mode of commemorating the death of General Washington.

He reported the following Resolutions :

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled, That a marble monument be erected by the United States at the Capitol of the City of Washington, and that the family of General Washington, be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it; and that the monument be so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

And be it further resolved, That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall, to the German Lutheran Church, in memory of Gen. George Washington, on Thursday the 26th inst. and that an oration be prepared at the request of Congress, to be delivered before both Houses that day; and that the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, be desired to request one of the Members of Congress to deliver the same.

And be it further resolved, That it be recommended to the people of the United States, to wear crape on their left arm as mourning, for thirty days.

And be it further resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these Resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character, of their condolence on the late affecting dispensation of Pro-

vidence, and intreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General Washington in the manner expressed in the first Resolution.

And be it further resolved, that the President of the United States be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the People throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third Resolution.

These Resolutions passed both Houses unanimously.

Same day, the Senate sent the following letter of condolence to the President of the United States, by a Committee of its Members :—

To the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

THE Senate of the United States respectfully take leave, Sir, to express to you the deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of General George Washington.

This event, so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of Patriotism. Permit us, Sir, to mingle our tears with yours—on this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a Man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world—our Country mourns her Father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest Benefactor and Ornament—It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him who “maketh darkness his pavilion.”

With patriotic pride, we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries, who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and Guilt have too often been allied; but *his* fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of *his* virtue.—It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory; he has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight

weight of honour ; he has deposited it safely, where Misfortune cannot tarnish it—where Malice cannot blast it. Favoured of Heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity ; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

Such was the Man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated—WASHINGTON yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in Heaven !

Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic General—the patriotic Statesman—and the virtuous Sage ;—let them teach their children never to forget, that the fruits of his labours and his example are their inheritance.

The PRESIDENT'S ANSWER.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I RECEIVE, with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive Address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our Country has sustained, in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired Citizen.

In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me to say, that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress, and most trying perplexities ; I have also attended him in his highest elevation, and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

Among all our original associates in that memorable League of the Continent in 1774, which first expressed the Sovereign Will of a Free Nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the General Government. Altho', with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone—bereaved of my last brother ; yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes, to mingle their sorrows with mine on this common calamity to the world.

The life of our WASHINGTON cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries, who have been most celebrated and exalted by Fame. The attributes and decorations of *Royalty* could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest *Citizen*, a more resplendant luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds, who, believing "that characters and actions are marked by success alone," rarely deserve to enjoy it. *Malice* could never blast his honour, and *Envy* made him a singular exception to her universal rule—For himself, he had lived enough to Life and to Glory—For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal—For me, his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read—If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians.

JOHN ADAMS.

On Monday the 3th of January, the President sent the following letters to Congress :—

Gentlemen of the Senate, and

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

IN compliance with the request in one of the Resolutions of Congress of the 21st of December last, I transmitted a copy of those Resolutions, by my Secretary, Mr. Shaw, to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect Congress will ever bear to her person and character—of their condolence in the late afflicting dispensation of Providence, and entreating her assent to the interment of the remains of General George Washington in the manner expressed in the

first

first Resolution. As the sentiments of that virtuous lady, not less beloved by this nation, than she is at present greatly afflicted, can never be so well expressed as in her own words, I transmit to Congress her original letter.

It would be an attempt of too much delicacy to make any comments upon it—But there can be no doubt, that the Nation at large, as well as all the branches of the Government, will be highly gratified by any arrangement which may diminish the sacrifice she makes of her individual feelings.

JOHN ADAMS.

Mrs. WASHINGTON's ANSWER.

SIR,

Mount Vernon, 31st Dec. 1799.

While I feel, with keenest anguish, the late dispensations of Divine Providence, I cannot be insensible to the mournful tribute of respect and veneration which are paid to the memory of my dear deceased husband; and, as his best services and most anxious wishes were always devoted to the welfare and happiness of his country, to know that they were truly appreciated, and gratefully remembered, affords no inconsiderable consolation.

Taught by the great example which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by Congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me—and, in doing this, I need not, I cannot say, what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty.

With grateful acknowledgements, and unfeigned thanks, for the personal respect and evidences of condolence expressed by Congress and Yourself, I remain very respectfully,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE's BOX.

PHILADELPHIA, 4th Jan. 1792

On Friday last was presented to the President of the United States, George Washington, a Box elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated

ed oak tree that sheltered the patriotic Sir WILLIAM WALLACE of Scotland, after the unfortunate battle of Falkirk about the year 1300. This very curious and characteristical present is from the Earl of Buchan, by the hand of Mr. Archibald Robertson, a Scotch gentleman, and a portrait painter, who arrived in America some months ago. The Box was presented to Lord Buchan by the Goldsmiths Company of Edinburgh; from whom his Lordship requested, and obtained leave, to make it over to the Man whom he deemed more deserving of it than himself, and *George Washington was the man.*

We further learn, that Lord Buchan, has requested of the President, that, on the event of his decease, he will consign the Box to that Man, *in this Country*, who shall appear, in his judgment, to merit it best, upon the same considerations that induced him to send it to America.

Upon the Box, which is curiously wrought, is a silver plate with the following inscription:—“*Presented by the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh to David Stewart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with the Freedom of their Corporation, by their Deacon—A. D. 1792.*”

Copy of the LETTER from Lord BUCHAN to General WASHINGTON, accompanying the Box.

“SIR, *Dryburgh Abbey, June 28, 1791.*

“I had the honour to receive your Excellency’s letter relating to the advertisement of Dr. Anderson’s periodical publication in the Gazette of the United States; which attention to my recommendation I feel very sensibly, and return you my grateful acknowledgments.

“In the 21st No. of that literary Miscellany, I inserted a monitory paper respecting America, which I flatter myself, may, if attended to on the other side of the Atlantic, be productive of good consequences.

“To use your own emphatic words, “May that Almighty Being who rules over the Universe—who presides in the Councils of Nations—and whose providen-

vidential aid can supply every human defect, consecrate to the Liberties and Happiness of the American people, a government instituted by themselves for public and private security, upon the basis of Law and equal administration of Justice, preserving to every individual as much civil and political freedom as is consistent with the safety of the Nation."—And may HE be pleased to continue your life and strength as long as you can be in any way useful to your Country!

"I have entrusted this sheet inclosed in a Box, made of the Oak that sheltered our Great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, to Mr. Robertson, of Aberdeen, a Painter, with the hope of his having the honour of delivering it into your hand; recommending him as an able Artist, seeking for fortune and fame in the New World. This box was presented to me by the Goldsmiths' Company at Edinburgh, to whom, feeling my own unworthiness, to receive this magnificently significant present, I requested and obtained leave to make it over to the man in the world to whom I thought it most justly due. Into *your* hands I commit it, requesting of you to pass it, on the event of your decease, to the Man in your own country who shall appear to your judgment to merit it best, upon the same considerations that have induced me to send it to your Excellency.

"I am, Sir, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And obliged humble servant, *BUCHAN.*

"P. S.—I beg your Excellency will have the goodness to send me your Portrait, that I may place it among those I most honour, and I would wish it from the pencil of Mr. Robertson. I beg leave to recommend him to your countenance, as he has been mentioned to me favourably by my worthy friend, Professor Oglvie, of King's College, Aberdeen."

General WASHINGTON'S ANSWER.

MY LORD,

Philadelphia, 1st May, 1792.

"I should have had the honour of acknowledging sooner the receipt of your letter of the 28th of June last

last, had I not concluded to defer doing it till I could announce to you the transmission of my portrait, which has just been finished by Mr. Robertson (of New York) who has also undertaken to forward it. The manner of the execution of it does no discredit, I am told, to the artist, of whose skill favourable mention has been made to me. I was further induced to entrust the execution of it to Mr. Robertson, from his having informed me that he had drawn others for your Lordship, and knew the size which best suited your collection.

“ I accept, with sensibility and with satisfaction, the significant present of the box which accompanied your Lordship’s letter.

“ In yielding the tribute due from every lover of mankind to the patriotic and heroic virtues of which it is commemorative, I estimate, as I ought, the additional value which it derives from the hand that sent it, and my obligations for the sentiments that induced the transfer.

“ I will, however, ask that you will exempt me from the compliance with the request relating to its eventual destination.

“ In an attempt to execute your wish in this particular, I should feel embarrassment from a just comparison of relative pretensions, and fear to risk injustice by so marked a preference.

“ With sentiments of the truest esteem and consideration, I remain your Lordship’s most obedient servant,

Earl of Buchan.

G. WASHINGTON.

EXTRACT from *Gen. Washington’s WILL.*

Item—To the Earl of Buchan I re-commit “ the Box made of the Oak that sheltered the brave Sir William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk,” presented to me by his Lordship in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request “ to pass it on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who appeared to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced

duced him to send it to me.”—Whether easy or not, to select *the* MAN who might comport with his Lordship’s opinion in this respect, is not for me to say ; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the re-committment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmiths’ Company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and, at his request, consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his Lordship ; and in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it.

CHARACTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(Delivered by Mr. Fox in the British House of Commons
in the year 1794.)

“ Illustrious Man !—deriving honour less from the splendour of his situation, than from the dignity of his mind—before whom all borrowed Greatness sinks into insignificance !—I cannot, indeed, help admiring the wisdom and the fortune of this Great Man—Not by the expression Fortune, I mean to derogate from his merit ; but, notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed thro’ such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach !—It must, indeed, create astonishment, that, placed in circumstances so critical, and filling, for a series of time, a station so conspicuous, his character should never once have been called in question—that he should in no one instance be accused either of peevish insolence, or of mean submission, in his transactions with foreign nations—It has been reserved for him to run the race of glory, without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career !—The breath of Censure has not dared to impeach the purity of his conduct, nor the
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eye of Envy to raise its malignant glance to the elevation of his virtue—Such has been the transcendant merit, and the unparailelled fate, of this illustrious Man!"——

CHARACTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(By a Scotch Traveller.)

In no one thing has the world been so much deceived, as in the article of what is commonly called *Great Men*.—Most of them, upon a nearer and closer inspection, have been found to be either great hypocrites or great robbers!—Not so the Man whose character is now attempted to be delineated—Whether in public or in private, he was still the same; and in that humble, but useful and honourable employment, a Farmer, he pointed the way to Fortune, as, in his public capacities, he had pointed the way to Fame; eminently proving, in his own person, the difference between a system of method and economy, and a course of idleness and dissipation.

By his regular and economical conduct, Mr. Washington became one of the most extensive and opulent Farmers on the continent. He had about 10,000 acres of land attached to his seat of Mount Vernon, where he combined theory with practice, and, by successive improvements, rendered his grounds highly productive. Including his household servants, and those who worked upon the farm, he daily mainrained about one thousand persons, all of whom moved and acted according to the rules of a strict, but beneficent system. Like a well-regulated clock, the whole machine moved in perfect time and order—The effects were, that he was completely independent, and died possessed of a great property.

It does not appear that Mr. Washington's education was either classical or extensive—a knowledge of the English language, with a portion of geography and the mathematics, seem to have been the whole of his juvenile improvements. Altho' his grammatical instructions could not be very accurate, he, notwithstanding, attained, by dint of study and observation, a pro-

ficiency in the writing of English, smooth, uniform, and even dignified—he wrote in a style that has extorted the approbation of the most fastidious critics. He is an eminent proof, that a man may become an able General without having read Cæsar in the original, and an able politician without having studied either the Greek or Roman authors.

With a tall, majestic person, and a manly countenance, he had a strong, but well-governed mind—His perceptions were not quick, but, when once he did take a position, it was generally well chosen, and firmly adhered to—Neither wit nor vivacity brightened his features; it was a face of care, of thought, and of caution; all was calmness and deliberation—Washington's great forte was prudence, or discretion; it covered him like a shield in the hour of danger, and it was his sure guide in the day of prosperity; by this single talent, he acquired all his wealth, and obtained all his celebrity.—Whilst he fulfilled all the relative duties, he was obedient to every temperate rule, and every moral principle; and knowing its vast importance both to individual and national happiness, he paid a proper respect to the observances of Religion.

* * * As it would fill a volume to insert all the demonstrations of respect paid to this illustrious character in every town from New Hampshire to Georgia, by orations, sermons, processions, &c, we shall conclude with the following article—

PHILADELPHIA, *Dec. 24, 1799.*

The Theatre, last evening, joined in the public testimony of regret for the loss of the Hero of America. The House (which was extremely full) displayed a scene calculated to impress the mind with the utmost solemnity of sorrow. The pillars supporting the boxes were encircled with black crape, the chandeliers were decorated with the insignia of woe, and the audience, particularly the female part of it, appeared in mourning. At 7 o'clock, the band struck up Washington's March; after which a solemn dirge was performed, when the curtain slowly rising, discovered a Tomb in the center of the stage in the Grecian stile of architecture, supported by trusses. In the center of it was a portrait of the General, encircled by a wreath of oaken leaves; under the portrait, a sword, shield, and helmet, and the colours of the United States. The top was in
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the form of a pyramid, in the front of which appeared the American Eagle, holding in her beak a scroll, on which was inscribed *A Nation's Tears!* — The sides of the stage were decorated with black banners containing the names of the different States of the Union, in golden letters, and over which mourning trophies were suspended—A Monody was recited by M. Wignell, accompanied by solemn Airs; and the tragedy of the ROMAN FATHER concluded the business of the evening.

AIR IN THE MONODY.

SLOWLY strike the solemn bell,
Nature sound thy deepest knell;
Power of Music, touch the heart,
Nature there will do her part.
God of Melancholy, come,
Pensive o'er the Hero's tomb;
In saddest strains his loss deplore,
With piercing cries rend ev'ry shore,
For WASHINGTON is now no more!

Glory, bring thy fairest wreath,
Place it on thy Hero's urn:
Mercy, in soft accents breathe,
"He never made this bosom mourn!"
Every Virtue here attend,
Bending o'er his sacred earth;
Gratitude, thy influence lend,
Make us feel his mighty worth!





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